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Arcana Gallica :
OR, THE
Secret History
OF
FRANCE,
FOR THE
LAST CENTURY.

SHEWING,

By what Steps the *French* Ministers de-
stroy'd the LIBERTIES of that Nation
in General, and the PROTESTANT
RELIGION in Particular.

With a View of the *Distractions* and *Civil*
Wars during the Two *Minorities* in that Pe-
riod.

Collected from the most Authentick *Authorities*,
never before Printed in *France* or *England*.

By the Author of the Secret History of *Europe*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. BELL, at the *Cross-Keys* in
Cornwel, N. CLIFF and D. JACKSON, at the
Bible and Three Crowns in *Cheapside*, MDCCLXIV.

Price Six Shillings.

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W. Augrave.

RIGHT HONORABLE



The Dedication



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
EARL OF
PORTLAND.

My Lord,

THE *Protection* Your LORD-
SHIP was pleas'd to give
that *Exact and Faithful Historian*,
Monfieur Vaffer, who Address'd
his *History* to You, has encourag'd
me to beg the same Favour for
this, which is built entirely on
the same Foundation.

A 2

YOUR

The Dedication.

YOUR LORDSHIP knows too much of *French Politicks* and *French Merit* to be in Love with either; and tho' no Man was ever more Carels'd by them than Your LORDSHIP, when You accompany'd Your Noble Father in that *Embassy* of his, which was the Glory of *England* and the Wonder of *France*; yet You have never had the least Complacency for their *Counsels*, but have shewn that You are as Insensible of *National Flattery* as of *Personal* to

YOUR LORDSHIP's Heart is so perfectly *British*, that it is a Secret Reproach to many of our *Country-Men* who pique themselves of a long Descent of *British Ancestry*, and yet seem to have no more Regard for the true Interest of their *Country* than their *Ancestors*, the *Normans*, had, when they invaded it. They have nothing
of

The Dedication.

of the Ancient German Blood in them. Have no Notion of that Spirit and Principle of Liberty which inspir'd our Saxon Fathers in the Defence of it. And seem to be so in Love with our Neighbours the French, that one wou'd think they were prouder of being descended from a Nation that enslav'd, than being ally'd to one that deliver'd us.

'Tis that Glorious Deliverance which has endear'd the Memory of Your Illustrious Father, who had so great a Hand in it, to all good English-Men: For 'tis that, MY LORD, to which they owe the Present Happy Government, and the hopes of the Future. The Constitution owes its birth to the Principles that effected it, and its Preservation is built on the same Bottom. Every assault that is given to it by advancing contrary Doctrines, is striking at the very
Root

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Root of the Establishment, which we cannot be too Jealous of, as this History will sufficiently evidence; and that a Nation no sooner takes one Voluntary step towards *Slavery*, but Power will presently find means to force them to take others. It is in *Politicks* as in *Faith*, and he who errs ever so little in the *Essentials*, is in great Danger of erring further till it ends in Perdition.

I am Conscious that I ought not to interrupt Your LORDSHIP's Leisure with such sort of Lectures, but my Zeal for the *Truth* made me forget to whom I was Speaking; and that in whatever Minute this Address meets You, whether You had dedicated it to Business or Pleasure, it is very Presumptuous in me to give it any other Diversion without Your LORDSHIP's Particular Command. To dare to come *Unbidden* into Your LORDSHIP's
Pre-

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Presence, is what I cannot Answer to either Delicacy, Decency or Discretion. But there are some Passions too strong for all, and none stronger than the Love of One's Country. It will in some Measure be an Excuse for me, that when I consider Your LORDSHIP as one of the first of the *British* Peers, who have always appear'd Zealous in the Cause of *Liberty*, I cou'd not restrain my self from paying that Acknowledgement which is a Debt to You from all who Love it.

THIS is a Virtue that shines brighter in Your LORDSHIP than so many others which adorn Your Character. *Generosity, Humanity, Affability*, and all the Qualities that gain Love and Esteem, must give Place to that *Publick Spirit* by which You have on all Occasions distinguish'd Your self. Even that perfect Beauty of Body and Mind,

The Dedication.

Mind, which are, with so much Joy in some and Envy in others, beheld in Your LORDSHIP, wou'd want the Zeal of the Patriot to finish their Perfection. But with it, it gives inestimable Merit, and makes every Man Ambitious of being what I am, with all imaginable Duty and Respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's,

Most Humble, most Obedient,

And most Devoted Servant,

(1)
THE

PREFACE.

THERE will be the same Objection to this History, as is generally made to all Anecdotes, that the Facts are either False or Common. But I have a ready and short Answer to it, that they are neither Common nor False. For, with respect to the English Reader, not a Tenth Part of them has ever appear'd in English, nor were they ever printed in France, and the Authors from whence they are taken were of the most undoubted Veracity that ever that Nation produc'd, to instance Vassior's Life of Lewis the XIIIth, whose History consists of Twenty large Volumes, and is a Collection of the most valuable Writers who wrote of that Reign with a Spirit of Liberty and Truth; most of whose Works durst never be printed in France. To this I may add the History of the Edict of Nantes, consisting of Five large Volumes in Quarto; neither of which have been translated into our Tongue entire but only by Parcels, and Three only of Vassior's Twenty Volumes are to be met with in it. If this History therefore were nothing more than an Abridgement of these Two Voluminous Histories, full of Arcanas of the French History, if, as I may venture to say it does, it takes in every thing Curious and Remarkable tending to shew how Tyranny was establish'd in France by Cardinal Richlieu's Ministry, and what steps that Court took to destroy not only the Liberties of the Protestants, but of the French Nation in general, were there, I say, nothing more in it, this Work cou'd not fail of being a grateful Present to the

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Eng.

English, who have the Preservation of their Liberties so much at Heart, and are so Sollicitous to avoid any Measures which tend to their Destruction. The following Pages are full of Instructive Examples of the Treachery of great Men, and their Sacrificing the Cause of Liberty, and even Religion to their Avarice and Ambition. It shews us what Regard that Ministry had to their Treaties; how complying they were in Distress, how Insolent when out of it, and by what Steps they laid the Foundation of the late formidable greatness of the French Monarchy.

It will be a melancholly Prospect to see with what Selfish views the great Lords of the Reform'd Religion manag'd its Interests, and how easily they abandon'd them when their own were in Question. How they made Conscience a Pretence to colour their Ambitious Designs, and made a Market of that Church whose Champions they pretended to be, when they had a Turn to Serve by it. There has no House in France been more fatal to the Protestant Religion there than that of Bouillon. The Father of the Marechal de Turenne did not turn Papist, but he always betray'd the Protestant Cause, and appear'd at the Head of it for nothing, but to render himself by it considerable at Court. Had he been faithful to his Profession, the Reform'd had made another sort of a stand, and had his Son the Marechal de Turenne done the same, the Edict of Nantes might not have been so trampled under Foot as it was soon after his Apostacy.

The Reader will observe how frailty the Catholics took Arms in the Defence of their Liberties in the Minority and Reign of Lewis the Just, that the French were not then so convinc'd of the Verity of the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance as they have been since by the Arts of the Two Cardinal Ministers, and the Lessons of an Army of Two or Three Hundred Thousand Men. Whether that brave Gallican Spirit is irrecoverably lost by a long usage of Arbitrary Power

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Power, and whether another Minority may not give new Life to it, Time will discover, and the Discovery may not be at a Distance.

I shall not be so Impertinent as to recommend this Work to the World for any other good Quality it has but Truth. The utmost Care has been taken not to mention any Event but what is attested by the best Authority. I do not hate the French so much as to Falsify History to render them Odious; indeed they have taken Care by their Politicks in the last Century, to prevent an Historian's having any Temptation to it. The Fact does more than Invention could do, and if one hated them never so much for the Invasions they have made on the Rights of Nations one need only Speak the Truth of them to be sufficiently reveng'd.

This is not intended as a Satyr on the French Nation in general, but on those that have involv'd themselves in the Guilt of their ill Ministers, and contributed to make their Government so Absolute as it is, so Ruinous and Destructive to all the rest of Europe. France has oblig'd the World with so many Excellent Things in Letters and Arts, that it wou'd be ungrateful not to Speak of her with Honour. But then the Two Cardinal Ministers went so far in establishing the Politicks of Machiavel, and compelling other Courts to fall in with the same Principles and Practices, that sure all good English Men cannot but have an Abhorrence for every Thing that's French in Religion and Policy.

This I hope may be said without Offence. Indeed I do not see how 'tis Possible for one to Offend in a Free Nation, Govern'd by Laws, against a People that wou'd give up all Law to the Will of the Prince. I know very well what is the Duty of every Subject in observing the Treaties made with other Kingdoms and States, and shall always Practise it; but I do not think it Inconsistent with that Duty to tell the Reader what has been done by our Neighbours in former Times, that he may make the better Judgement what they will do now. It is a

Maxim in Common Commerce, for People to deal with every Man as if he dealt with a Knave, whether he is known to be so or not; but when he has a certain fixed Character, when his Reputation for Knavery is Incontestable, the Folly of trusting such a one is ever punish'd with Shame and severe Repentance. What holds good in Private Things generally does the same in Publick, and a Nation that have been once bubbled by another must surely sink in their Character if they are ever bubbled again.

I question whether the good Luck of Richlieu in being trusted so often, was so much owing to his own Cunning as the Credulity of others; and whether a great many People who had to do with him, did not shew that if he had had less Dexterity; others had easiness enough to have made the same Bargains with him. This sort of Conduct of the French and their Neighbours will not appear so much in this as in other Parts of their History. I have now had most Attention to their Management at Home, their Divisions, Commotions, the Intrigues of their Regencies and Ministers, and have touch'd very lightly on their Foreign Affairs farther than they conduce to shew what is chiefly intended by this Work; and with what security the Neighbouring Nations may build on their Sincerity.

It will be seen in this History that France was not only contented to attack the Empire openly without any just Provocation, but held a Correspondence with the Arch Rebel Wallenstein, to whom that Court wrote a very Complaisant Letter, a Secret which will never be met with in their own Story: I need not mention other such Important Secrets, the whole is nothing else but a Collection of Memoirs which the French Historians must not meddle with, unless they fly for the Liberty of History to the Protection of other Nations. I have avoided as much as possible to mention any Facts that are to be met with in those Authors that have written in France of this Period. Mezeray is a very faithful Historian, as far as was consistent with

The P R E F A C E.

v.

Prudence and Safety, but he us'd to complain of the breaches that had been made in the Ancient Gallick Constitution, and has to some of our Countrymen in whom he cou'd confide, enuy'd us the Happyness of having preserv'd our own so entire as it is from the Invasions of Arbitrary Power usurp'd by other Princes and their Ministers. His Discretion kept him from touching such Events as wou'd have given his Readers a frightful Idea of those Persons and Things, which the French are since taught to hold Sacred; and I have been so far from receiving any help from him, that I wou'd not so much as consult him; being assur'd that I shou'd soon lose the Character of a Writer of Anecdotes, and deaden the Curiosity of the Publick if in the least I pretended to Coppy after so well known an Original.

This Volume takes up the Reign of Lewis the Just, and Thirty Three Years of the last Century. A Reign full of Intrigues and Actions under the Direction of a Minister of as a great Genius as ever France or any other Kingdom produc'd. One who tho' he had a sublime Capacity, and was not for want of Ability to Act openly, reduc'd to the scandalous necessity of Tricking; yet of so unbounded an Ambition, that there was no Artifices so mean and so wicked which he wou'd not put in Practice to carry his Point; and when he dy'd he seem'd to have infus'd his Soul into Mazarine his Successor, whose Genius, however, was not of so large an extent as Richlieu's, but consisted more in Italian Refinement, than the Wise Politicks of an experienc'd Statesman. Both of them agreed in one Hellish Design to Sacrifice the Rights and Privileges of the People of France as well Papists as Protestants to the Will of the Prince, and under him to their own, and the Measures they took are the same which all Ministers will take who have the same Treacherous intent, in whatever unhappy State their Lot shall throw them.

Honest Abel and his Brother the Examiner have for above Two Years been endeavouring to make us in
Love

Love with the French, to restore, as they phrase it, the Ancient Amity between the Two Nations, who have not however known what 'tis to be Friends since they were Nations. English and French are as great Opposites as Liberty and Slavery; and whatever Measures we are oblig'd to observe with them, as to Peace or War, it does not follow, I hope, that we must have such a Veneration for what is done, or has been done by them, that we must not dare to Speak the Truth of them. But we shall not learn to write History by the Examiner and Honest Abel, the former as distinguish'd by his great Modesty, as the latter by his as great Veracity. They have indeed introduc'd a new way of Writing, which Posterity wou'd be infinitely oblig'd to them for, if it was possible for either of their Papers to live longer than the Day for which 'twas written. If a Man shou'd write a History of the Times, and take the Memoirs from Abel, and the Reflections from the Examiner, I doubt not but 'twou'd make the most incomparable Secret History that ever was written. How many of their Heroick Events will Fifty Years hence be as entirely forgotten as if they had never been; for no other Writers will venture to carry such a load along with them to Futurity, and the Memory of them can never be preserv'd any where but in the Post-Boy and Examiner which must therefore in the next Age be the greatest Anecdotes that will be transmitted to us.

As great a Secret will it then be that Six or Seven Years of her Majesty's glorious Reign, the most glorious that ever appear'd in the British Annals, distinguish'd by so many Victories and Conquests Abroad, by such a wise and happy Administration at Home, were the subject of the Ridicule of such Infamous Libellers. For our Children will be asham'd of the Frenzy with which that Faction is possess'd and will do what they can to hide their Nakedness, to blot such Insolence and Ingratitude out of Remembrance, and it will be forgotten long before that, perhaps, that France had ever any professed Friend among us.

In this History there will be found Instances of such Libellers as these; Two Wharings employ'd by Richlieu and his Creatures to vindicate his fatal Ministry, and blacken the former. 'Twill be found that one of his Authors, Father Joseph, a great Confident and Creature of his, was so Extravagant in his Flattery, that he wrote a Treatise intitled, The Unity of the Ministry, showing the necessity that it should be single, and by Arguments that he deriv'd from the Unity of the Godhead. I make no manner of doubt but if the Examiner cou'd procure a Chapman, he wou'd oblige us with just such another Treatise, and with more of the Sycophant and the Slave than was in Father Joseph's. The Relation there is between the French and these Friends of theirs in all Things is very Remarkable, and was one of the main Instigations I had to prosecute this Work.

It has been some Comfort to me, that I have not had occasion in this Book to talk much of the Examiner's new Friends. Those I here speak of, have been rotten these Threescore Years, and I shall on that Account come off the better with him. He does not sure care what is said of Richlieu and Mazarine, as long as due Deference is paid to those that are in Being. For my Part if it was not more out of Regard to the Opinion of others, than his or my own, I shou'd deal as freely with the Living as with the Dead, for they have all alike been the most inveterate Enemies of our Country.

I cannot on this occasion omit an Excellent Observation of that cruelly Noble Lord the Earl of Warrington in his Charge to the Grand Jury of Cheshire; he is speaking of the late King James's Illegal Actions, his going to France, and learning there to continue and encrease them from the Conversation of the French King. It is not probable, says his Lordship, that King wou'd have treated him as he has done, had he discover'd in King James any Disposition to govern more mildly and reasonably for the future.

ture. How much he is influenc'd to the contrary is very Evident, by designing to bring in the *French* upon us, the People of all other this Nation ought to dread, being the old Irreconcilable Enemies of *England*; for whoever looks into History will find that *France* has occasion'd more Trouble to *England* than all the World besides. Nay, there has scarce been any Ill Design against this Nation but *France* has had a Hand in it, as if their very Climate did necessitate them to be at Enmity with us. Is it not then highly necessary we shou'd be well acquainted with the Mystery of their Politicks which will be found to be as dark as the black Regions where they were form'd?

What Obligation do we lye under not to look into their History, and expose it to the Judgment of an Impartial Briton? *France* has Friends enough among us to whom such a Design will give Offence; but alas, what should hinder an English-Man from offending a Friend to *France*? I matter not the hatred of such as hate the Government and the Protestant Succession to it, as hate our Country and Constitution. 'Tis Glorious to bear the Enmity of such, and the more they are displeas'd, the more, I hope, will all Lovers of Liberty be pleas'd with this Work, for whose Entertainment 'twas in an Especial Manner Written, and with whose Approbation all the Pains I have taken will be abundantly rewarded.

Malice and Envy pretend to very great Penetration, and will defile the most pure and Innocent History with strain'd and corrupted Applications; to prevent their doing such Injustice to this, we must declare that the Reflections are every where such as are born of the Subject, and are not to be misconstru'd and abus'd with any Odious Parallels, for which the History of our Affairs gives no Occasion.

it will doubtless have a Relish of the Prohibition
of the Gentlemen who being Poets will not
fall to Adorn it with all the Beauties of Fiction as

Writers of Language.

One of their greatest Wits of the last Age, was
the Count Buff, he always said one would think
an Author the most likely to write Truth, when he

wrote in French and under a Common Name: This
Year he has published a new History of France, and
has taken Liberty to their Kings, that even this
Count, writing in Exile, borrowed a great Part
of his History of Lewis from his Inven-
tion. I will give a few Instances of it, that a
Judgment may be thence form'd of the Ne-

FRANCE, &c.

I Do not pretend in the following *History*, to
publish the Secrets of Cabinets, and the
Arcana's of Council. It would be a Ridi-
culous Impertinence to endeavour to impose
these Facts on the Reader for *Novelties* never
seen before. But this I may venture to affirm,
he has never seen them in our own Language, and
they are all taken from Books which never durst ap-
pear in *France*.

I shall not enter into the History of that Kingdom
for this last Century, farther than it has relation
to my Design; to shew the Steps taken in it to
ruin the *Reform'd Religion* and the Liberties of the
People, which was entirely accomplish'd in the
last Reign and this. The Civil Wars and the Fo-
reign in those Times, I shall leave to the General
Histories of them. As far as *Mezeray* has gone,
he is Honest and Excellent; but as for the other
French Historians, particularly *The Grand History*
of Lewis the XIVth now Reigning, begun by Mon-
sieur *Pelisson*, and continu'd by Monsieur *Racine*,
Monsieur *Boileau*, Monsieur *Vaincourt* and others,

it will doubtless have a Relish of the Profession of those Gentlemen, who being Poets, will not fail to Adorn it with all the Beauties of Fiction as well as of Language.

One of their greatest Wits of the last Age, was the Count *Bussy de Rabutin*, and one, wou'd think an Author the most likely to write Truth, when he wrote in Banishment, and under a Common-Wealth: Yet such is the Natural Vanity of the Nation, and such their Idolatry to their King, that even this Count, writing in Exile, borrow'd a great Part of his *History of Lewis The Great*, from his Invention. I will give a few Instances of it, that a Judgement may be thence form'd of the Necessity we lye under to look into other *Historians* than those of the National Religion in *France*, if we wou'd well inform our selves of their Affairs, and the Methods taken to Establish *Popery* and *Tyranny*, without those Hated Rivals of *Liberty* and *Reformation*.

The Count speaking of the Exploits of the French at *Tinmouth*, says, *Monsieur Tourville*, Burnt Twelve Men of War there, and a little after that, *The Prince of Orange was Beaten at the Boyne*. Not content with this, he is so hardy as to say, speaking of some Advantage gain'd by the French Fleet, *We commonly Beat both the English and Dutch at Sea*. In a Word, tho' his History is only an Abridgement of the Life of *Lewis the XIVth*, yet there are more Falshoods in it than in any Life at large, that ever was written, all to the Honour of the King or the Country.

To give other Instances of the Honesty or good Information of the French Historians, one need only refer to *The Life of Cromwel*, Dedicated to the Famous Bishop of *Meaux*, by a Person of no mean Character; in which there's hardly a Page without one or more gross Mistakes, if not wilful Errors. He says, *Cromwel* was a *Prebend*, and that Bishop *William's* Quarrel with Bishop *Laud*, was about *Precedence*. But to shew what Dependance there is to be made on them, I shall repeat what
Doctor

Doctor Welwood has written on this Subject. All the Histories almost of this and the last Age, that have been Printed in Paris, these Thirty Years past, are full of Positive Falshoods, not to mention either the Paramount History that Monsieur Pelisson is just now a Writing of the Life of Lewis le Grand, which will certainly be a Complication of Untruths, and a Falsome Panegyrick on the French King. Nor need I mention the several Histories that Maimbourg, Varillas, and other of the King's Pensioners, have impos'd on the World of late; which makes it absolutely necessary, if we wou'd know the History of France for this last Century, to look into other Memoirs than those they send us from thence.

We are now at War with that King and his Country, but how long we shall be so by the present Disposition of the Times, is not hard to determine; and that perhaps the Promis'd Peace will be Proclaim'd before these Sheets are publish'd. However, considering we Live under a Constitution where Truth is no Crime, and Liberty is defended by Law, that of speaking what's True of any Nation, is the Right of every English Man, and God forbid we shou'd ever be so fond of the French, as to except that Nation out of such Liberty. I shall therefore report all those Events which tended to the Destruction of the Protestant Interest, and the Erecting an Arbitrary Despotick Government in that Kingdom, from the Death of Henry the IVth, to the Revoking the Edict of Nantz, of which the Crown of England was Guaranty, as has been represented to our Court, in a late Memorial from the French Refugees. This History, for the Entertainment of the Reader, will be diversify'd with several Incidents and Events no where else to be met within our Tongue, and such as probably never will be, the Memoirs I took them from being too Voluminous, and too Particular to admit of any other Version or Use. I desire therefore, that since I have taken so much Pains to divert him, he will allow me in my Turn, the Pleasure of making such Reflections on

the Facts as are of General Concern to all True Lovers of the Protestant Religion and Liberty, free from the Scandal of Sedition and Schism.

The Liberty of the Protestants in *France* was precarious, and depended on the Pleasure of the Court, till *Henry* the IVth, the First Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, who sat on the *French* Throne, confirm'd his best Subjects by that Edict, which was concerted with great Industry and Deliberation, and by the Command of a King, who, in his Heart, was suspected to think well of the Protestant Religion, tho' he outwardly made Profession of the *Ropish*. I have two Authorities to justify this Suspicion, one the saying of *Hardouin de Peresfixe*, Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, in his Life of *Henry* the IVth, the other, that of his Pupil *Lewis* the IVth, to the Deputies of the Reform'd Churches in *France*. The Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, the present King's Preceptor, writes in the before mention'd History, *When Henry the IVth fearing the King of Spain wou'd prevail on the States assembled for the Choice of a King, turn'd Papist*. The Author adds, *Il estoit temps que le Roy se convertit, 'Twas Time for the King to be Converted*; which shews how little Conscience was concern'd in that Conversion; and the King now wearing the Crown when those Protestant Gentlemen complain'd to him that his Edicts were not observ'd, said, *You look upon me as upon the King my Father, and the King my Grandfather; without doubt you believe I love you like the one, or fear you like the other; but I wou'd have you know I neither love you nor fear you*. As to the Murder of *Henry* the IVth by *Ravillac*, it is not question'd even by the Papists, but that he was set on by Bigotted Priests to commit that Assassination. These Bigots being apprehensive the King was forming some Design in favour of Heresy, which they imagin'd he had only abandon'd in Appearance. *Ravillac* when he was examin'd, confess'd, *He had heard that the King was about to make War on the Pope, that to make War on the Pope, is to make War on God, inasmuch as the*
Pope

Pope is God, and God is the Pope, as may be seen in the *Mercure Francois*, 1610. which Damnable Doctrine he had learn'd from the Sermons of the Execrable Preachers of the *League*, who justify'd *James Clement* in his Murdering *Henry the III^d*.

One cannot determine what *Henry the IVth* intended to do with the Army he was getting together, whether to aggrandize himself by some Foreign Conquest, to settle a Chimerical Ballance of Power, or to return to the Reform'd Religion, and maintain himself in it by Might. 'Tis probable Ambition was the Cause of his Arming. A Lust of Empire has for several Centuries burnt in the Hearts of the Monarchs of *France*; they could not forget that a King of the *Franks* was once Master of the Western World; that *Charlemagne* was the Restorer of that Imperial Monarchy; and they, tho' descended of the *Pepins* and *Capets*, were so vain as to look on themselves as the Sons of *Pharamond*, who drove the *Gauls* out of *France*. Being deliver'd from the Fears of an *English* Yoke, by the unhappy Divisions between the Two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, they could not be content with the Kingdom they had recover'd, but instead of being Conquer'd, set themselves up for Conquerors. This Air have they assum'd ever since the Reign of *Charles the VIIth*, who having the good Fortune to have *Henry the VIth* of *England*, a weak Prince, for his Competitor, from a King of *Bourges*, became a Monarch of *France*, and left a Thirst after Glory in all his Successors, as well those that were afraid to War in Person, as those that dar'd to Fight their own Battles. Nay, their insatiable Delire of Rule, has possess'd the very Women, and none more than *Katherine De Medicis*, call'd the Fury of *France*, Mother to the Three last Kings of the Race of *Valois*. It was she who rais'd and fomented the first Civil Wars about Religion and Liberty, which ended in the Destruction of both. It was she who permitted the *Guises* to perpetrate that Horrid Massacre at the Marriage

of *Henry* the IVth, thinking if she cou'd destroy the Protestant Interest, that of Liberty wou'd fall of Course, and the Government of *France* wou'd be as Arbitrary as her Will. How that inclin'd her to Dominion, may be seen by the following Piece of History.

In the first Civil War, when the Prince of *Conde* was in all appearance like to prevail, and *Katherine* was thought to be very near the End of her much desir'd Regency, during the Young King's Minority, she was known to have been for Two Days together, retir'd to her Closet, without admitting her menial Servants to her Presence. Some few Days after, having call'd for Monsieur *De Mesme*, one of the Long Robe, and always firm to her Interest, she deliver'd him a Steel Box fast lock'd, to whom she said, giving him the Key, *That in respect she knew not what might come to be her Fortune, amidst those Intestine Broils that then shook France, she had thought fit to inclose a Thing of great Value within that Box, which she consign'd to his Care, not to open it upon Oath, but by an Express Order under her own Hand.* The Queen Dying, without ever calling for the Box, it continu'd many Years unopen'd in the Family of *De Mesme*, after both their Deaths, till at last Curiosity, or the Suspicion of some Treasure from the heaviness of it, tempted Monsieur *De Mesme's* Successor to break it open, which he did. Instead of any Rich Present from so Great a Queen, what Horror must the Lookers on have, when they found a Copper Plate of the Form and Bigness of one of the Ancient Roman Votive Shields, on which was Engraven Queen *Katherine de Medicis* on her Knees, in a Praying Posture, Offering up to the Devil sitting upon a Throne, in one of the ugliest Shapes they use to Paint him, *Charles* the IXth then Reigning, the Duke of Anjou, afterwards *Henry* the III^d, and the Duke of Alanson her Three Sons, with this Motto in French, *So be it, I but Reign.* This very Plate continues yet in the Custody of the House of *Mesme*, of which Monsieur
D' *Avaux*,

D' Avaux, so Famous for his Ambassies, was a Branch, and was not only acknowledg'd by him to be so, when Ambassador in *Holland*, but he was also pleas'd at that time, to promise a Great Man in *England*, a Copy of it; which is a Terrible Instance of the Power of Ambition in the Minds of *French* Princes, and to what Divinity, if one dares give the Devil that Name, even in Irony, they are ready to pay their Adoration, rather than part with their hopes of Empire.

The Truth is, King *Henry* had got a Powerful Army together, and had form'd mighty Projects, which some say terminated in no less than altering the whole Frame of the Government of *Europe*. That in order to this, he had enter'd into Confederacies with several Potentates, who found their Interests in his Model, to reduce this Quarter of the World into the Fifteen following Governments.

Monarchies.

The Papacy,

Germany,

France,

Spain,

Great Britain,

Hungary,

Bohemia,

Poland,

Denmark,

Sweden,

Lombardy, compos'd

of the Territories

of *Savoy*.

Republicks.

Venice.

The Italick Repub-

lick, compos'd of

the Principalities

of *Italy*.

The Low Countries.

The Swiss.

And besides the Erecting these New Kingdoms and States, and the modelling others, they were all to joyn to drive the *Turk* out of *Europe*, which Project, as Chimerical as it is, is mentioned by *Pertuis*; but it is generally thought those Preparations were intended against *Spain*, and that the Great Duke of *Sully*, his Chief Minister, was the sole Master of the Secret, if not the Adviser of

the War; tho' as soon as the King was Dead, and the Queen Regent, *Mary de Medicis* and her Two Ministers, appear'd against it, that Duke, great as he was in Office and Dignity, to make his Court to the New Government, assur'd Her Majesty he had endeavour'd to divert the late King from his Designs, appealing to the Duke of *Vendome* for the Truth of what he had said to his Father in his Presence. *Base Courtier!* says even a Hugonot Writer, *Who Sacrific'd so early the Reputation of his Benefactor, to his Wavering Fortune.*

But the Character of this Duke, as shining as it appears in the Memoirs of *Sully* and *Rohan*, had a mixture of Dissimulation in it, which render'd it unworthy the Purity of the Religion he profess'd. His Ambition, says the Author of the History of the Edict of *Nantz*, was very singular; tho' he profess'd the Reform'd Religion, he made it his Study to acquire the Pope's Favour: He valu'd himself upon having more Friends at Rome, and upon his receiving more Applauses there than among those of his own Religion. Neither did it burthen his Conscience, to find that the Court of Rome was better satisfy'd than his Brethren, with his way of managing their Liberties and Safeties. The Truth is, he had behav'd himself so well in the Opinion of the Catholics, at the Assembly at *Chattelaud*, that Cardinal *Du Perron*, who was then at Rome, writ to him to Congratulate his Success in his Deputation. He so far gave up their Security to the Pleasure of the Papists, that he endeavour'd to perswade them to hold no more General Assemblies, because they always created some Jealousies in the Court. He put the King upon possessing himself of the *Mareschal De Bouillon's* Places: He prevail'd with the Assembly not to urge the restoring the Edict of *Nantz* in its full Extent; and tho' he afterwards, when in Disgrace appear'd a Zealous Defender of the Protestant Church, yet when he was in the height of his Favour in King *Henry's* Time, he was very much suspected by

by the Reform'd, who had Reason to believe he design'd to change his Religion by his Conduct on the following Occasion. The King had offer'd him one of his Natural Daughters for his Son, provided they wou'd both turn *Catholicks*, upon which the Duke of Sully was oblig'd to have some Conferences with *Cotton* the Jesuit, who shar'd the Quality of Convertor with Cardinal *Du Perron*. These Conferences commonly produc'd the Effect they desir'd, being seldom accepted but for a Pretence to change; nevertheless, whether it were a Blind contriv'd between the King and Sully, or whether it were Real, the Duke refus'd to change, but gave his Son leave to do it if he pleas'd. The King pressing him to oblige his Son to do it, he refus'd to Command him; however, he declar'd that he left it to his own Free Choice, with which the King seem'd not to be very well satisfy'd. *I wou'd not affirm*, says the above-mention'd Author, *that this was any thing but a Juggle to Re-establish Sully's Reputation amongst the Reformed, who no longer look'd upon him as a Member of their Party.* Indeed it was not very likely that Sully shou'd refuse in earnest what the King propos'd to him, to obtain an Alliance which several Princes of Europe wou'd not have disdain'd. It was also as easy for him, according to the Notions he had inspir'd into the King to make a Religion to himself, reduc'd to certain General Articles, as to perswade another to do it, or to believe he might Innocently Authorize his Son to turn Roman Catholick. This Incident is mention'd in the Duke of Sully's Memoirs to his Honour. 'Tis said there the King upbraided him with loving the *Hugonots* better than him.

Tho' it is a general Opinion that King Henry was not a good Catholick in his Heart, yet by his Actions he did not give the Jesuits any such cause to dread him, as might put them on contriving his Murder. His obliging the Prince of Conde to turn Papist; His Endeavours to do the same by the Duke of Sally, and other Protestant Lords, are enough to convince me, that whatever Religion he had of his

his own, the Reform'd was not so much at his Heart, as perhaps they flatter'd themselves, or that his last Preparations, were in their Favour. Two Years before he dy'd, he gave the Catholicks a Substantial Proof of the little regard he had for his Old Religion; which was this; The *Moors* being under a Terrible Persecution in *Spain*, those Wretches offer'd to submit to the King of *France*, if he would take them under his Protection: But King *Henry* not confiding in those People, naturally false and Inconstant, thought fit first to send a Person among them, to see what might be expected from that Overture. To this purpose, he made choice of Monsieur *Panissant*, a Gentleman of *Gascoyne*, and a Protestant, to be his Envoy. Monsieur *Panissant* went to *Granada*, in the Habit of a *Franciscan*, and negotiated the Affair with so much Success, that some considerable Advantage might have been made of it, had he been suffer'd to go on. But the Popish Bigots told the King that *Panissant* inspir'd them with Heresy, and King *Henry*, rather than be accessory to such a Crime, recall'd *Panissant*, and sent a Papist in his room whose Doctrine was so ill relish'd by the *Moors*, that the Project came to nothing; whereas *Panissant* had brought them into a good disposition towards his own; which removes from the *Mahometans* the Pretences of their Aversion to Christianity, on account of the *Romish* Idolatry. Cou'd a King that had rather the *Moors* shou'd remain *Mahometans* than turn *Hugonots*, have form'd any Design in favour of *Hereticks*? And yet that the Protestants had vain hopes of his Protection, may appear from the Reflections of the Historian before-mention'd, upon the King's formidable Power at the Time of his Death. The Blood boil'd, says he, in the Veins of the Reform'd, who expected the end of their Fears, by the downfall of the House of Austria, and only desir'd an occasion to revenge themselves by a Just War of the Massacres and Violences they thought the Council of Spain had inspir'd that of France with. He had Great and Powerful Alliances; Besides that of the United Provinces, which
has

had been renew'd. Another had lately been concluded at Hall, in Swabia; notwithstanding all the Emperor's opposition, with about Fifteen Protestant Princes. These Preparations made Rome tremble for its Religion, and Spain for its Greatness, &c. Again, The truth is, the King's Design was not positively known, but it is certain he wou'd never consent to the Exterminating of Protestants; therefore he was not look'd upon at Rome as a good Catholick, and they did not doubt but he had retain'd from his first Religion the Design of humbling that Haughty See. Their fear was all ground'd upon his having made almost all his Alliances with Protestants: From whence it follow'd naturally that in case he should succeed in his Enterprizes, none but Protestants wou'd enjoy the Benefit of his Victories. The Damages of which would consequently fall upon the Catholick Religion. Whatever King Henry had in his Head, I am not satisfy'd from all that has been said, it was to serve the Protestant Interest that he took Arms, any more than that it was to Reform the Government of Europe. The Monarchy of France did not seem to be in a Condition to pull down and set up Empires at Pleasure, and of her self was in more danger of receiving Laws from that of Austria, than in a Condition to prescribe them: What is said in the Duke of Sally's Memoirs on this subject, has some Agreement with the Arch-Bishop of Paris's Life of this King, as to the Airy Design I have already spoken of, that he had a Design to found the Equilibrium of the Powers of Europe, upon the Equilibrium of the Religion.

In the First step taken by the Regent there seems to be some small Remains of Liberty left in France, for she carry'd the Young King Lewis the XIIIth, than entring the 10th Year of his Age, to the Parliament of Paris, and made this Speech to them, I have here brought you my Son to intreat you to take that Care of him which you are oblig'd to do; I conjure you to do this by the Memory of his Father, by the Love you ought to have for your selves, and your Zeal for your Country; I will instruct him to fol-

low your Advice, in all the Concerns of State. It is your part to see this be wholesome and Good. And the Young King also promis'd in the Speech that was made for him, that he wou'd follow the Advice of his Parliament. Anne of Austria and her Son Lewis the XIVth, said the same thing in the next Minority, when the Cabals of the Princes and Grandees for the Regency and Ministry made it prudent to give good Words to all Men. Nevertheless, says a French Historian, We have seen with our own Eyes in the present Reign, and we shall see in that, whose History I now write, that Lewis XIII, and his Successor have too much given Ear to Vile Flatterers, who have prompted them to annul the Authority of a Body of Men, on which the Preservation of France does depend, and which was established, to curb the absolute Power of the King. The Regent to Establish her own Power, thought convenient to keep the Protestants in her Interests, and to oblige them publish'd a Declaration, to confirm the Edict of Nantz; tho' as the Young King is reported to have said, this Formality was not necessary, in regard that Law was irrevocable and perpetual, and the Loyalty of the Protestants was then so Exemplary, as that, when Queen Mary de Medicis sent word to that good Man, Monsieur du Plessis Mornay, he might ask what he lik'd best, and her Majesty wou'd readily grant it. He reply'd, No Man shall ever reproach me with taking Advantage of the Disasters of my Country, or extorting the least thing from a Minor King, or his Distress'd Mother, &c.

The Prince of Conde, the First Prince of the Blood, had left France in Disgust for King Henry's Amours with his Wife, and retir'd to Brussels, where he was when that King dy'd; and the Conde Fuentes, the Governor, did his utmost to perswade him not to neglect so fair an Opportunity to make himself, King The Divorce of your Kinsman, says he, from Margaret of France, and his Marriage with Mary De Medicis, are contrary to the Laws of God and the Church. Will you tamely lose a Crown which belongs to you. Have but Courage to assert your

your Right, you will not want Power or Support. I offer you all the King my Master can do for you. If the Authority of the Holy See interpos'd in the Divorce of Henry, we will find a way to engage Paul V. to declare Null what his Predecessor did. The Thing is not without Example. The Proposal was made to the Pope, and the Prince did not reject it, till he found his Holiness would not hear of it. Spain never had a fairer Opportunity of revenging herself for all the Injuries she had receiv'd from France, than by putting the Prince of Conde on this Design, which would certainly have involv'd the French Nation in infinite Troubles, and at least have secur'd the Protestant Interest, for it was then very Powerful. The Mareschal De Bouillon, the Mareschal De Lesdisguieres, the Duke of Sully, the Duke of Rohan, and many of the most Potent Lords in France professing it. The Mareschal Bouillon advis'd the Prince to return to the Reform'd Religion, which Henry had forc'd him to forsake, and declare himself Protector of that Church. The Protestants were Masters of several of the most Important Offices and Cities in the Kingdom: The Duke of Sully was General of the Ordinance, Governor of the Bastile, and had all the Money the late King had lodg'd there in his Possession. The Duke of Rohan was Colonel General of the Swiss, the Mareschal De Lesdisguieres General of an Army on the Frontiers of Savoy. The Mareschal De Bouillon kept a strict Alliance, and constant Intelligence with Foreign Princes. The Sovereignty of Sedan made him considerable at Home and Abroad; King Henry stood in fear of him, and had he been a Man less Govern'd by his Passion, it was in his Power to have done a great deal of Good. He demanded the Command of the Army intended against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, but it was given to the Mareschal De la Chatre, upon which the Mareschal said, *Must my Religion exclude me from all Employs due to my Rank and Services: When the Prince return, I'll try to make a New Party to oppose this New Triumvirate.* But the

the Prince had neither Vertue nor Courage enough to Head the Protestants, he was only for getting of Money with the Spirit of a Country Gentleman; and having good Words, and the *Hotel of Gondi* given Him, he neglected so happy an Occasion of Establishing the True Religion; and with that the Liberty of *France*. Instead of Uniting among themselves, the Lords of that Religion, hated one another as much as they did the *Papists*; the Duke *De Sully* was Obnoxious to all the New Ministers, on account of his Favour and Power in the last Reign: He was not Zealous enough for his Religion, but of so Austere an Humour, that he had few hearty Friends; and when *Conchini* the *Italian* Favourite to the Regent, joyn'd with the other Lords in his Disgrace, the Duke *De Bouillon* was so far from supporting him, that he perswaded the Prince of *Conde* to abandon him, tempting him with the Confiscation of the Estate of an Old Superintendent. The Protestants had so little respect for this Prince, that he having a Quarrel with the Duke of *Guise*, the World was amaz'd to see the Grand-Children of Admiral *Coligny*, the Dukes of *Sully* and *Rohan*, the Marechal *De Bouillon*, and the Heads of that Party, forget the Bloody Day of *St. Bartholomew*, and go offer their Services to the Children of *Bulafre* against the Son of the Brave *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*. The Duke of *Sully* strenuously vindicated the Duke of *Guise* in Council, purely because the Prince had an Eye at the Confiscation; but when shortly after the Super-Intendant's Disgrace was in Agitation, the *Guises* deserted him, because the Pope and King of *Spain* were dissais'd that a *Hugonot* was in the Chiefest Employes. The Regent cou'd not effect the Fall of so Experient'd and Upright a Minister, while the Lords of his Party espous'd his Interest, and therefore they order'd the Marechal *De Bouillon* to be sifted on that Head, who out of Envy declar'd readily, *Sully* deserves the worst that can befall him; however, I must not appear in it, it concerns me very much, that those of our Religion, should not reproach me with

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removing a Man who is Necessary to them in the Post he is in. Here is a sad Instance of the little dependance those who side with a Party out of Principle, can make on the Heads of it. The Duke of Sully to maintain himself in his Post, makes his Court to the House that were the Projectors and Executioners of the Butchery of St. Bartholomew. The Duke De Bouillon to ruin him, abandons an Interest which he confesses is a support of his Religion. 'Tis easy to be imagin'd, what use the Papists made of this jealousy and Envy among the Chief of the Protestants, and it was a very good Lesson for others to have learnt by, how to avoid the same Rock, Uniting themselves heartily for the Defence of the Common Cause, giving up all Trivial Considerations to that of the Publick Good. But is this an Age to Preach Unity and Disinterest in, and have the BRITAINS so many such Shining Examples of Generous and True Zeal, that they shoud pretend to censure their Neighbours for the opposite Vices? Let them look round them and judge, they need not put me to the Trouble. At this time the Grandees liv'd in a sort of Independency in France, the King was a Minor, and the Regent a Woman, who lov'd Rule better than she understood it. It is remarkable, that on every slight Occasion, the Great Lords appear'd at the Head of Arm'd Bands, as if in an Enemy's Country. The Duke De Guise had a Difference with the Count De Soissons, and immediately he has always 150 Horse in his Train. The Duke of Epemon has a Quarrel with the Marquis D'Anere, so Conclini was now call'd, and he never came to Court but attended with 7 or 800 Gentlemen, his Men marching in Order of Battle, and when the first were at the Louvre, the last were at the Hotel of Epemon. The Distance of these is near 2000 Paces.

It has been already observ'd, that Lewis the XIIIth had in his Minority confirm'd the Edict of Nantz, to excuse which, the Regent his Mother, sent the Cardinal De Joyeuse to Rome, to represent

represent the Necessity of doing it in a Minority. But at that time the Protestant Interest was very Powerful, insonmuch that she thought it convenient to allow them the Liberty of a General Assembly, which was held at *Saumur* in 1611. But the Queen took care to corrupt the Mareschal De *Bouillon*, by the Promise of the Government of *Poitou*, which she intended to take from the Duke of *Sully*, and put Money into his Hands to distribute as he thought fit among the Members of the Assembly, to prevent their doing any thing effectually for the Advancement or Security of their Religion; and how the Mareschal De *Bouillon* serv'd her in that Design, will be seen presently. When he came to *Saumur*, he who had before declar'd, *He wou'd not be President of the Assembly*, said, *That Distinction was due to the Long and Considerable Services he had done for the Reform'd Churches of France.* The Duke of *Sully*, the Duke of *Rohan*, the Duke De *la Trimouille*, the Duke of *Soubize*, the Duke of *Chatillon*, the Duke De *la Force*, and other Protestant Lords, who assisted at the Assembly, had a Suspicion of him, and Monsieur Du *Plessis Mornay*, Governor of the Town and Castle of *Saumur*, was Elected President, which the Mareschal, who made his Religion subservient to his Ambition, took for such an Affront, that he resolv'd at any rate to be reveng'd on the Dukes of *Sully* and *Rohan*, whom he look'd upon as the Occasion of his being set aside; but he dissembled his Resentment for the present, and in appearance was reconcil'd to the Duke of *Sully*, whom having upbraided for drawing Canon out of the *Arsenal* in *Henry the IVth's* Reign, to destroy his Town of *Sedan*, he said to him, *Let us forget what is past, I will become your Friend and Servant, if you are attack'd in Sully upon account of Religion, I will as readily bring down the Cannon of Sedan to defend you, as you drew out that of the Arsenal to destroy me at Sedan. Let us agree for the Benefit of our Religion, Conscience and our Common Interest require it;*
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we cannot subsist without an Union, the Party we follow, cannot procure us great Advantages, but is capable of supporting a Moderate Fortune. Yet as soon as the Assembly shew'd that they wou'd support the Duke of Sully's Interest against those who were for depriving him of his Post of Master of the Artillery, and his Government of *Poitou*, the Marechal expecting the latter, procur'd the Dissolution of this Assembly, sending privately a Letter to the Queen Regent, to be Sign'd by her, and return'd to the Meeting for that purpose, commanding them to Name their Deputies, and break up. *Bouillon* had endeavour'd to perswade the Duke of *Rohan* to abandon his Father-in-Law, pretending his Cause was desperate, telling him at a Visit he made him, when he was under some Indisposition, However Upright and Careful a Man may be, who has the Administration of the Finances and Artillery, it is hard for him to avoid committing some Fault, which deserves to be punish'd, if it be inquir'd rigorously into. A Superintendant of the Finances, and a great Master of the Artillery, are not only answerable for what they do themselves, but for the management of their Inferior Officers. If the Court should appoint Commissioners to inquire into the Duke of Sully's Administration, do you think they would not find some plausible Pretence to take away his Places. The Assembly and the Reform'd will have no Colour of Complaint; nay, the Wrong be done to the Duke of Sully, the Matter will be determin'd in the usual Form of Law. For you, My Lord, you make a Profession of exact Probity, you are so great a Lover of good Order, in a Word, you have so Loyal a French Heart, you will not be able to stir when the Matter shall be determin'd Judicially. Is this the Sincerity of a Man of Honour and a Protestant? What shall we say of those Men, who Sacrifice Conscience and Honour to their Avarice and Ambition. Thus is Religion made a Cloak to Interest, and we may see what dependance is to be made on those who profess it, when they can make their Market by

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destroying.

destroying it. *The Church, The Church, is the Cry,* till they are provided for, and then She is no more in their Mouths, than in their Hearts. The Duke *De Bouillon* knew as well as any Body, that the Protestants cou'd not subsist without Union, and that the Duke of *Sully's* keeping his Posts, was a great Strength to the Party of the Reform'd; yet to get his Government of *Poitou*, he consented to expose them to the Persecution of their Enemies, by weakning the Protestants, and strengthening the Papists. In the Duke of *Rohan's* Answer, will be found the Sentiments of a good Politician, a good Christian, and a good Soldier, one who knew very well how far he was bounded by Scripture and Law, in the Exercise of Resistance. *What, said he, after the great Services the Duke of Sully has done to the late King, shall he become a Prey to those who were always doing Mischief to the State. His Conduct is unblameable, and we do not fear it should be examin'd: He is a Peery, and cannot be judg'd but by a Court of Peers: If his Enemies endeavour to bring him before any other Tribunal, his Kinsmen and Friends will never endure such an Indignity: Be assur'd, my Lord, that I will do my Duty on this Occasion, and will not leave my Father-in-Law to be trampled on.*

Is this the Language of the Peers of France at this Day? Durst any Duke in that Kingdom say now, *I will not leave my Father-in-Law to be trampled on?* What will the Duke of *Rohan* do to prevent it? Is it not to take Arms, and that to defend the Cause of a particular Man? How Lawful must it then have been, in the Opinion of that *Christian Heroe*, to have Arm'd for the Defence of Religion and Liberty? Are we more restrain'd by our Constitution than the French were a Hundred Years ago by theirs? Or are our Doctors better Christians, and better Politicians than this Famous Duke, whose Vertue, Valour and good Sense, have render'd his Name Immortal?

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The Assembly of *Saumur* sat Three Months, was compos'd of the most Eminent Men for their Birth, Ability, and Experience in Business, and in all Probability they had effected something for the Security and Advantage of the Protestant Churches of *France*, had not the Mareschal *De Bouillon* betray'd them to the Court: That Family has been Fatal to the Reform'd Interest in that Kingdom, which was entirely ruin'd by the Apostacy of the Viscount *De Turenne*. *France*, at the Death of *Henry IV.* was in a strict Alliance with *England*, *Holland*, *Venice*, and other States; to oppose the then encroaching Power of the House of *Austria*. This Alliance was of the last Consequence to the Protestants in that Kingdom, most of the States that compos'd it being of that Religion; yet at the Instigation of the Pope, the Queen Regent enter'd into a Private Treaty with *Spain*, and concluded a double Match to confirm it. The Mareschal *De Bouillon* said sometimes well in Council, that too strict a League with *Spain*, would be prejudicial to the State, but at the bottom he fell in with that Opinion in which he found his Account best. *Lesdisguieret*, another of the Principal Protestants, long'd passionately to be a Duke and Peer, which made him pliable to every thing the Court would have him. There is something in the Affair of the Double Match, which lets one into the Cabinet of Princes, and shews us that Counsel is sometimes requir'd for Form's sake, when Resolutions are before taken; and the History of our own Times will furnish the World with an Event, which bears so near a Resemblance to this, that 'twill doubtless put the Reader in mind of it. It had been resolv'd by the Queen and her Ministers, to conclude a League with *Spain*, to Marry the Princess *Elizabeth* of *France*, with the Prince of *Spain*, and that the young King *Lewis* the XIIIth of *France*, should be contracted to the Infanta *Anne* of *Austria*. The Regent and her Creatures did their utmost to engage the *Grandeess* to give into it.

The Mareschals *De Bouillon* and *Lesdisguieres* she was sure of, the Constable *de Montmerency* was lur'd in, by a Marriage of his Son with her Neice, a Princess of the House of *Mantua*. The Duke of *Guise* and his Family came into the Project, out of hatred to the Princes of the Blood who oppos'd it. The Duke of *Epernon* was dazzled by the more than ordinary Honours paid him on this Occasion; and things being thus prepar'd for a Council to conclude the Business, an Extraordinary one was held, at which the Prince of *Conde*, and his Uncle the Count *De Soissons*, assisted about the beginning of the Year 1612. and the managementt of this Consultation is, what I think, has something in it worthy our Curiosity. 'All Persons says *Monsieur Vassur*, were brought about to consent to the Double Match whenever it should be propos'd in Council, but the Two Princes were not yet satisfy'd. The same Day they were call'd to Council, *Conde* first demanded that every one might declare his Opinion according to his Degree; Chancellor *Sileri* spoke much in Praise of the Queen's Administration of Affairs, and laid open the great Benefit which would accrue to the State from this Double Match. The Duke of *Guise* set forth the Eloquence which was Natural to his Family, *There's no need* said he, *of Deliberation upon so Advantagious a Proposition, we ought only to thank God that Her Majesty hath happily brought about the Noble Design which Heaven had Inspir'd into her.* The Constable *Montmerency*, with the Dukes of *Neuers* and *Epernon*, extreamly approv'd of what was said. The Mareschal *Bouillon* and *Lesdisguieres* said only, that they ought to take care the New Treaty with the *Spaniards* might not be prejudicial to the Ancient Alliances of the Crown with other Sovereigns. At last came the Prince of *Conde's* Turn to speak, but he was so surpriz'd at the Duke of *Guise's* positive way of delivering himself, that he was quite out of Countenance, and after an indifferent

' indifferent manner said, *Since this is an Affair*
 ' *resolv'd upon, it was needless to ask our Opinion.*
 ' It was believ'd the Two Princes came with a
 ' Design to oppose the Match which People were
 ' Confirm'd in, by some Words the Count *De*
 ' *Soissons* let fall. *You see Sir,* said he, turning
 ' himself to the Prince of *Conde*, *That we are*
 ' *dealt with here as Fools and Serving Men.* The
 ' Queen vext at this Reproach, wou'd have spoke,
 ' but the Chancellor cunningly turn'd her from
 ' it, by proposing some other Matter to discourse
 ' upon, &c. The Prince of *Conde* and Count *Soif-*
 ' *sons*, shew'd a great Weakness upon this Occa-
 ' sion, their Consciences would not suffer them to
 ' approve the Thing, and either Fear or Hope
 ' hinder'd them from speaking as they ought to
 ' have done. *Sir,* said the Constable to his Son-
 ' in-Law the Prince of *Conde*, *You neither know*
 ' *how to Fight with Courage, or yeild with Prudence.*"
 which was made more evident by his Servile Com-
 pliance some time after. The League and Matches
 between *France* and *Spain*, alarming all *Europe*, es-
 pecially the Protestant States, the Queen Regent
 sent Ambassadors to *England* and *Holland*, to dissi-
 pate all Suspicions and Jealousies. The *Marschal*
De Bouillon was pitch'd upon to go on that Er-
 rand to *England*, one of his Instructions being to
 get King *James* to disapprove of the Demeanour
 of the Reform'd of *France* in their last Assembly
 at *Saumur*. A Pious Message for a Protestant Mi-
 nister, to a Protestant Prince. He was also to
 bid that King *James* beware of the Duke of
Rohan, one of the most Zealous of the Protestant
 Lords, and to interceed for the Papists in *Eng-*
land. Thus we see the Court of *France* made use
 of the *Hugonots* to destroy themselves, and that
 Profit and Power are Temptations too strong for
 Honour and Religion. King *James*, says my Au-
 thor, was easily made to believe that *France* thought
 of nothing but the General Good of Christianity, in
 making the Double Alliance with *Spain*. A Prince
 of his Pacifick Counsels, was not easily brought

to believe any thing which was likely to bring Him into a War. The Mareschal endeavour'd also to perswade the King of the Pope's good Intentions towards the Protestants, *and that he design'd only to Convert them by Preaching, and the good Examples of the Clergy*; and his Majesty out of the abundance of his good Nature, pretended he was very willing to let the Roman Catholicks be quiet; tho' 6 or 7 Years before, they had Plotted to Blow Him and Parliament together up with Gun-Powder. As to the Duke of Rohan, the Mareschal had a harder Task to set the King against him, for that Duke kept a constant Correspondence with his Son Prince Henry, and the King was prepar'd by that means to return him an Answer, in which we shall find that King James did not only think it Lawful for Subjects to make use of Necessary Means for the Defence of their Religion, but that he thought it was his Duty to assist them. *If the Queen your Mistress, says he to Bouillon, will break Acts agreed to the Protestants of her Realm, I don't pretend that the Alliance I have made and Confirm'd with France, ought to hinder me from Succouring and Protecting them. When my Neighbours are attack'd in a Quarrel that respects me, Natural Law requires that I shou'd prevent the Mischiefe which may arise from thence. Believe me, Monsieur Mareschal, you must be reconcil'd to the Duke of Rohan, I will let him know 'tis my desire that you Live Friendlily together.* Upon which a French Historian has this Reflection: *Wou'd to God King James and his Children, had always preserv'd Sentiments so Just and Necessary for the Good of England and the Reformation, Lewis the XIIIth or his Son, had never dar'd to oppress so many Innocent French Men.* The Mareschal succeeded so ill in his Negotiation at the Court of England, that 'twas said by the Ministers in France, He had neither follow'd the Intention nor Orders of Her Majesty; and the Mareschal on his side complain'd, he was not well dealt withal, and that they had a mind to affront him, by sending him thither.

The Division between this Mareſchal and the Duke of Rohan, gaye *Mary de Medicis* and her Miniſters, the means of breaking the Ediſt of *Nantz*, which never wou'd have been attempted, if they had had a good Underſtanding, and acted in concert. But the former, as has been ſaid, conceiv'd ſo Fatal a Jealouſie and Hatred of the Duke of Rohan, that forgetting all the Interests of Religion, he drove his Hatred ſo far, as to endeavour to get his Government of *St. Jean d'Angeli* taken from him, tho' it had been an irreparable Damage to the Common Cauſe. The Duke of Rohan underſtanding the ill Offices the Mareſchal *De Bouillon* did him, went to Court to juſtify himſelf, and having repreſented to the Regent, that he had behav'd himſelf as a good Man in the Aſſembly at *Saumur*, He ſaid, *I confeſs, Madam, I oppos'd the Deſigns of Monsieur De Bouillon, but this was only done in Order to give Your Maſteſty freſh Tokens of my Fidelity and Zeal. I diſtruſt thoſe Perſons who turn Scales, and pay their Services on both Sides. 'Tis ſeldom known that ſuch Men are Upright in their Intentions. If Monsieur De Bouillon had brought his Deſigns about in our Aſſembly at Saumur, he might have underſtood how to have us'd them, and prevail'd even againſt your ſelf. When he becomes the Maſter among us, your Authority ſhall never be better Eſtabliſh'd in this Realm.* The Queen prepoſſeſs'd by the Mareſchal, took no Notice of the Duke's Remonſtrances, and to put his Reſolution to the Tryal, wou'd have impos'd a Mayor on his Town of *St. Jean d'Angeli*, which if it had been effected, wou'd have deſtroy'd his Power there. The Duke, without taking Leave of the Court, haſtens back thither, and gives the Keys of the Town to an Alderman whom he could truſt, turning ſuch as he ſuſpected out of the Place, and ſlighting the Order the Regent had ſent to him to the contrary, This ſo enrag'd Her, that ſhe talk'd of raiſing an Army, which was to be Commanded by Two Proteſtants. The Mareſchals *De Bouillon*, and *Lesdiguieres*,

guieres; she caus'd his Lady, his Daughter and all his Family to be secur'd; she put a Gentleman into the *Bastile*, who was sent by the Duke to justify his Actions; she caus'd the Duke to be proclaim'd a Rebel, and gave out she wou'd in Person head the Army that was to act against him: But by the good Offices of *Themines*, Senescal of *Quercy*, who was sent to the Duke, and the good Advice of Monsieur *Du Plessis Mornay*, the Matter, in appearance, was accommodated. The Queen fearing many Provinces wou'd declare for him, she at last acknowledg'd, that if the Duke of *Rohan* had withstood her Orders with too much Haughtiness, she also had too easily given way to have the King's Authority undermin'd; and so the Matter was made up, the Duke readmitting those whom he had turn'd out of the Town, and the Regent providing otherwise for all the Officers she wou'd have impos'd on him. Such was the State of the Sovereign Power in *France* in the Minority of *Lewis* the XIIIth. There were more Lords than one that upon a Disgust thought himself strong enough to arm, and do himself Justice. Such was the Opinion not only the Papists, who had leagu'd against their King, but the Protestants had of *Obedience* and *Resistance*, such their Practice, in a Kingdom where now but to speak wou'd be enough to ruin the first Peer or Prince in the Nation.

It will not be amiss here to take Notice of the Power the Princes and Grandees of *France* always assume in a Monarchy. No sooner was the Breath out of King *Henry's* Body, but the Court fell immediately into Cabals: The Dukes of *Sully*, *Rohan* and the Parliament of *Paris* were for a Regency of the Princes and Ministers; the Dukes of *Epernon*, *Guise*, and others, for the Regency of *Mary De Medicis*; the former imagining if they obtain'd their Ends it would put them at the Head of Affairs, and the latter acting the contrary with the same Views. The Count *De Soissons*, a Prince of the Blood, quarrels with the Duke of *Epernon*, because he will not consent to have the Duke of *Sully* assassinated. In the Choice of the Council, the Duke of *Nevers* cannot be

be admitted, for fear of offending the Duke of *Guise*. If the Mareschal *De Bouillon* has a Place at the Board, the Duke of *Epernon* will have none. The first thing propos'd to them to consider was the double Match. The Princes of the Blood oppose it, but the Pensioners of *Spain* are the Majority.

The Prince of *Conde*, who had fled out of *France*, returns, and presently the Count of *Soissons* and the Duke of *Epernon* take Arms. The Prince of *Conde* appears at Court at the Head of one Faction, and his Uncle the Count *De Soissons* at the Head of another. The Mareschal *De Bouillon* endeavours to unite the two Factions. The Queen Regent traverses the Union, thinking it better, says my Author, to keep up Jealousies and Misunderstandings between the contrary Parties, and gain the Heads of both by her Favours. *Conchini* and the *Italians* form a third Faction, and watch their Opportunity to make their Advantage of the other two, who came behind them in Favour, tho' in Appearance they had the start in Authority. The Marquis *D'Ancre*, so *Conchini* was call'd, has Apartments given him in the Palace, and the great Master Monsieur *De Bellgarde* refuses to give him the Keys. This is enough to create a new Faction. The Count of *Soissons* falls in with *Bellgarde*, and others with *Conchini*. The Prince of *Conti* challenges his Brother the Count *De Soissons* for not giving his Coach the Way; and the making up that Difference causes another between the Count and the Duke of *Guise*. The Prince of *Conde*, the Constable *de Montmerency* and other Grandees side with the Count *De Soissons*; the Duke *De Sully*, the Duke of *Rohan*, the Mareschal *De Bouillon* and the Duke *De Chatillon* with the Duke of *Guise*. The Citizens of *Paris* are arm'd. The Mareschal *De Brisac* has Orders to set a Guard on the Count *Soisson's* Hotel; the Marquis *De Vitry* on that of *Guise*. The Count of *Soissons* threatens to leave *Paris*, if he has not Satisfaction; and by leaving *Paris* was meant at that time retiring to a Government, and taking Arms. Not long after a new Party is form'd. of the Prince of *Conde*, the Count of *Soissons*, and the Marquis *D'Ancre*,

Ancre, to ruin the Duke of *Epernon*, who immediately appears in *Paris* at the Head of eight hundred Gentlemen. The next Division, and all within the Compass of a Year, was that of *Soissons* and the Regent and her Ministers. The latter finding the former presum'd too much on his Quality of Prince of the Blood, set up the Duke of *Epernon* against him, and engag'd the Prince of *Conde* on their side. The Count upon this reconciles himself heartily with the Prince his Nephew, both leave the Court, and the *Guises* and the Duke of *Epernon* triumph in their Absence. The Marquis *D'Ancre* and his Wife quarrel. Wou'd one think the State was concern'd in it? Yet such is the steady and wise Conduct of the *French* in a Minority. The Queen and Ministers sided with *Galigai*. The Marquis, to be reveng'd, perswaded the Princes to return to Court. They came first to *Paris*, attended with 500 Horse, and from thence to *Fontainebleau*; where the *Guises* and *Epernon* receive the Mortification to have their Friend the Duke of *Vendosme* refus'd his Request, to hold an Assembly of the States of *Bretagne*; which Commission was given to the Mareschal *De Brisac*, and that occasions a Challenge from *Vendosme*. The Princes are set against the Chancellor *Sillery*, and *Lesdisguieres*, who was retir'd into *Dauphine* in Discontent, promises to bring them 10000 Foot and 500 Horse to the Gates of *Paris*. *Conchini* carries away the Favour of the Regent from all the Princes and *Grandeess*, and all but the Duke of *Epernon* enter into a Combination against him; which Combination was broken by the Death of the Count *De Soissons*. The Mareschal *De Bouillon* was the hottest of all his Enemies, and indeed they had great Reason to be angry, for this *Italian* had risen over all their Hands, and what was a terrible Montification to the *French* Vanity, cou'd not or wou'd not speak their Language. The Mareschal *De Bouillon*, while he was at the Head of these Cabals, seem'd to have no Share in them, and manag'd himself with so much Cunning, that he became Mediator of the Differences between the Princes and the Court; during which the Duke *De Rohan's*

Rohan's Post of Colonel General of the *Swiss* was taken from him, and given to *Monfieur Bassompierre*, the Duke having Satisfaction in Money, he thinking fit to accept of it, rather than lose his Place without it, which, as Affairs then stood, it was probable he would have done. The Count *De Soissons* was the most troublesome of the several Pretenders to the Administration; he was hardest to be oblig'd, and soonest disgusted. *Vasser* says of him, He had vast Designs rolling in his Head when he dy'd: 'Twas said he kept a secret Correspondence with *Henry Prince of Wales*, *Maurice Prince of Orange*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Hugonot Party*. The Duke of *Rohan* improv'd his Discontent with the Regent, to engage him in the Protestant Interest. He demanded the Government of *Quillebeuf* in *Normandy*, to be in a Condition to receive the Succours he had projected to be sent him from *England* and *Holland*. Nothing would satisfy him but an entire Change of the Ministers, and the Ruin of the *Guises* and *Epernon*; which it is probable he might have accomplish'd by the Means above-mention'd, had not Death put an End to all his Projects. A new Party was now set up at Court, who having got the uppermost, dissipated all the rest. The Prince of *Conde* headed it. The Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Longueville*, the *Mareschal De Bouillon*, and the *Marquiss D'Ancre* came into it. The *Guises*, the Dukes of *Epernon* and *Amville* could not make their Party good against them, tho' the *Marquiss De Bellguard* was of it. This Gentleman was Master of the Horse, and when the new Party was form'd was at his Government of *Burgundy*, which was intended to be taken from him, and given to the Duke of *Mayenne*. The Queen Regent order'd him to come to Court, and the *Guises* wrote to him to hasten to their Relief. The *Marquiss*, when he arrives at *Sens*, had Notice he was sent for only to be remov'd from his Government; upon which, instead of obeying the Regent's Orders to come to Court, he returns to *Burgundy*: Such was the Obedience of the *Grandeess* in the Minority of *Lewis the XIIIth*, such the Harmony of the Councils

cils of *France*, and the Concord between the Great for the two first Years of the Regency of *Mary De Medicis*. The Prince of *Conde's* Party triumphing, the *Guises* and *Epernon* receiv'd Mortifications daily. The Duke of *Guise* had not Interest to save his Brother from being banish'd the Court with his Friend the Count *De la Rochefaucaut*. *Guise* enrag'd at this, resolves also to fall in with the Party of the Prince, for the Destruction of the Ministry; which would have been such a Weight, that it might have born down the Regency. *Mary De Medicis* told *Bassompierre*, she must have *Guise* cost what it will; and for 100000 Crowns, a Government for his Brother, and an Abbey for his Sister, the Bargain was made. The Duke of *Epernon* also consented to come into the Interest of the Regency; and the two Dukes having had a private Audience of the Queen, Matters were then concerted to break up a puissant Faction, contriv'd by the First Prince of the Blood and Grandees of *France*; and these two Dukes joining with the Regent against them, she thought her self so strong, as not to fear any Opposition from the other side. To shew how little she dreaded it, she the very next Morning suffer'd an Affront to be put upon the Prince of *Conde*, which was a plain Declaration of the Loss of his Credit; for when he came to Court, he found, to his Amazement, that the Queen was shut up in her Closet with the Ministers of State, and no body offer'd to open the Door to him. Here again is another Revolution, and not two Years of the Regency yet expir'd. There was at this time a Discovery made of a Correspondence carry'd on between *Conchini* and his Wife and the Duke of *Savoy*, with whom the Court of *France* had then a Rupture. Yet such was the *Italians* Favour with the Regent, that both the Marquiss and Marchioness were clear'd, and the Ministers of State courted them more than ever. The Princes of the Blood and the Grandees of their Party had withdrawn from Court, upon the Reconciliation of *Mary De Medicis* to the Dukes of *Guise* and *Epernon*, and *Conchini* and his Wife remain'd in full Possession of the Regent, which

which made the Ministers endeavour to strengthen themselves by their Protection. The Insolence of that Woman was intolerable; she was of an ordinary Birth, yet the Queen had such an immoderate Affection for her, that she not only rais'd her but her Husband and Brother for her Sake. Let us see what Monsieur Vassor says on this Occasion: *The Marquis and Marchioness D'Ancre set no Bounds to their Ambition. Conchini obtain'd the Staff of Marechal of France; and Galigai, not being content that her Husband was rais'd to the second Military Honour in that Kingdom, proposes to obtain for her Brother the second Dignity in the Church of Rome. This Creature so far forgot her self, that she did not observe the Rules of Decency with the Princesses of the Blood: A little while before she had spoke in the Queen's Closet to the Princess of Conde, in such a proud imperious manner, that her Highness was extremely affronted. All the World was offended at the Insolence of Conchini's Wife, whose Behaviour did not a little provoke the Princes and Great Men against her Husband, &c.* We shall see presently what was the miserable End of this Upstart She-Favourite, and how her Husband was involv'd in her Ruin.

Some Mention has been already made of the Discontent of the Prince of Conde and the Grandees of his Party, who left the Court, and were gone to their Governments. The Duke of Epemon, tho' of the contrary Faction, did the same, because the Queen would not give his Son, the Duke of Candale, a Post he demanded for him. The Retreat of the First Prince of the Blood, of the Dukes De Nevers, De Mayenne, De Vendosme, De Longueville, De Piney Luxemburgh, De Bouillon, De Retz, and other great Lords, so alarm'd the Regent, that she immediately invited the Duke of Epemon back to Court, and gave him what he desir'd. It was the fourth Year of the Minority, and after so many Cabals and Quarrels at Court, that the two Parties had Recourse to Arms; but the Prince and his Friends, whatever they pretended, having only their own particular Advantages in View, were soon tempted

tempted to an Accommodation, before much Mis-
chief was done, which had never been offer'd them
but out of a Jealousy of the Marechal *D' Ancre*, to
prevent the Duke of *Guise's* commanding the Army
that was to be sent against the Prince. The Court
being thus divided upon the Prince's Retreat, Part
being for using Force, Part for Treaty, the Queen
embrac'd that Counsel which was recommended by
D' Ancre, and the latter falling in with those who
were for Pacifick Measures, *Mary De Medicis* did
the same; pursuant to which Commissioners were
sent to the Prince at *Mezieres in Champagne*, to treat
of a Composition. The Prince of *Conde*, in the
Manifesto he publish'd, did like almost all the other
Great Men that have taken Arms upon private Dis-
gusts: He talks of nothing but the Publick, and
with the Sentiments of a *Greek or Roman*. He is ready
to give up all for a free Assembly of the States, and
at the same wanted only his particular Satisfaction
to give up them for ever. Thus it is that the Heads
of Factions commonly deal by the Multitude whom
they impose upon. One would think by their De-
clarations that they had nothing but the publick
Good at Heart, when let them be contented as to their
own private Interests, and the publick Good is treated
as a visionary Blessing, a fine Word to flatter Fools,
and a Jest after those that use it have gain'd their
Ends. This Breach between the Regent and the
Prince was in the Year 1614. and the Reasons he
gave for it was worthy the Resolution he pretended
to in requiring a Redress of Grievances. He com-
plain'd, *That the Treasury was wasted; That the high-
est Employments were given to People unworthy of them;
That the Ministers had too great Authority; That lit-
tle Respect was paid to the Peers of the Realm; That
the Parliament met with Obstacles in the Exercise of
their Power; and, That the Assembly of the States was
neglected.* Grievances that will always be intolerable
to true Lovers of their Country, and which in this
Case were all well founded. He demanded, *That
Persons of Honour and Integrity should be plac'd near
her Majesty,* and spoke favourably of the Protestants,

to engage them on his Side. But their Behaviour then and at all times in France, shews that their Religion made them the best Subjects; for tho' the Prince did his utmost to get them to declare for him, tho' he sent in an especial manner to Monsieur Du Plessis Mornay, to represent to him the Care he had taken of the Reform'd in his Manifesto, yet they would not stir, and Du Plessis wrote immediately to the Deputies General of the Protestant Churches, to beware how they brought a Reproach upon themselves, by shewing any Disposition to rise upon any Account but the obtaining of the Liberty of their Consciences; for, says he, it would be to wrong their good Cause to mix it with Interests purely Civil; and that those of the Religion, as they were Reform'd Christians, ought not to meddle with the Reformation of the State. His Answer to the Prince of Conde's Message by Monsieur De Marais, Lieutenant of his Guards, and a Hugonot, is a Demonstration of the Wisdom of that excellent Person, and the Innocency of the Protestants, for which they have been since so barbarously and bloodily persecuted. We have seen several Princes, says he, use the specious Pretences of the Publick Good, only to carry on their own particular Interest. I wou'd believe the Designs of his Highness are upright and sincere, but that is not sufficient, we must use lawful Means to obtain a good End. All the World knows that there are Disorders in the State, they are greater than Men imagine; but Prudence will not admit that Monsieur the Prince should apply Remedies worse than the Disease. The well-meaning Towns of the Kingdom are so afraid of a Civil War, that they will never declare for him. He has a Mind to correct some Abuses, which the Towns for their own Profit do not desire should be corrected. Those who tell him the Reformed will rise, do not know us, or at least would impose upon his Highness. They offer him People which are not at their Disposal. 'Tis true we complain of some Grievances, but we will remain peaceable as long as the Edicts are observ'd, &c. Here are the Principles and Practices of the Protestants: They will not take Arms against the

the Government to reform the State, or redress Grievances; but they will be no longer peaceable than the Edicts for the Liberty of their Consciences are observ'd. As to the Prince of Conde and his Popish Confederated Lords, such admirable Practisers of Passive Obedience were they, that they wou'd not conclude the Treaty with the Regent, unless some Places of Safety were put into their Hands, that they might have an Opportunity to practise it over again when they were again disgusted. This Condition was no more easily obtain'd, than that of summoning the States of France. The Queen's Council made great Opposition to it, and the Dukes of Guise and Epemon in the Fulness of their Loyalty were pleas'd to say, *If the Regent granted Places of Security to their Enemies, they would also demand the same, and would look for Assistance out of the Kingdom,* threatening to call in the Spaniards. Such being the Allegiance of the Catholicks abroad, tho' they and their Abettors in England so highly extol their exemplary Loyalty, Obedience and Fidelity. But notwithstanding their Threats, the Ministers, supported by the Parliament, prevail'd for the Conclusion of the Treaty on those Terms. The Prince of Conde had the City and Castle of Amboise put into his Hands for his Security, the Duke De Nevers, St. Menehou, and the Marechal De Bouillon a large Sum of Money paid him. The Duke De Vendosme refus'd to sign the Treaty, and stood on his Defence in Bretagne; and the Court of the Regent was in Confusion on Account of the Differences between the Marechal D'Ancre and the Ministers. The Marechal had marry'd his Daughter to a Grandson of Villeroy, Secretary of State, and one of the oldest Ministers in France; yet out of Disgust at his opposing the Advancement of Dole his Confident, the Marechal was always doing the Secretary ill Offices. D'Ancre was the Regent's Favourite, and nothing but Villeroy's Merit and Experience cou'd have supported him; the Chancellor Sillery being his closest Enemy. The Favourites and Ministers had each their Friends and Enemies, and neither the Authority of the Regent

gent, nor even the Royal Authority prevail'd, to compose those Jars which kept the Kingdom in perpetual Distraction. The Prince finding he had rather lost than got Ground, by the Trouble he had given the Regent and Ministers, wou'd have renew'd it, and had an Interview with the Duke of Rohan, to bring him and the *Hugonots* into his Party. He did not forget to lay all the Fault of his ill Success, on the Treachery of the Mareschal *De Bouillon*, and to represent the great Interest he shou'd have in the States, which were to be Assembled by his Procurement only. But the Duke of Rohan, tho' of a more Martial Genius than Monsieur *Du Plessis Mornai*, had the Prudence to reject this Temptation: He told the Prince, *The Queen wou'd have more Authority in the Assembly than you can hope for. Those whom you reckon upon at present, will leave you instead of supporting you; Fear and Hope are the Two great Springs which move the Members of these Assemblies: You are not in a Condition to promise them great Matters, nor to fright them by Menaces. The Queen has Preferments and Places to dispose of; She can do a great deal of Mischief to those that oppose Her Will: Who is there that will declare openly for you against Her Majesty. Believe it, Sir, the States General will oppose your Designs.* Notwithstanding this wholesom Advice, and that the Prince and his Party were not so strong as before the last Rupture, yet he attempted to make himself Master of *Poitiers*, by means of the Governor the Duke of *Roannez*, and the Marquis *De Bonnivet*; but the Bishop of the Place by his Intrigues prevented it, and shortly after the Queen and the young King, made a Progress with an Army attending them, to reduce the Duke of *Vendome*, and secure the Peace of *Poitou*. Upon which the Prince retir'd to his Seat in *Berry*, not daring to return to his New Government of *Amboise*. This March with an Army, tho' not very Numerous, was made use of by the Prince and his Emissaries, to raise Suspicions in the Reform'd, but the Regent sent a Gen-

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tleman

tleman to Monsieur *Du Plessis* at *Saumur*, to remove the Fears thole Suspitions might create; and to give him a Proof of the Confidence She had in him, She pass'd through *Saumur* with the Young King her Son. Monsieur *Du Plessis Mornay* went to meet her, follow'd by an Hundred Gentlemen. As soon as the Young King enter'd the Castle, *Du Plessis* offer'd to order the Garrison to march out, but his Majesty wou'd not permit him. *It is not against our King*, said the Governor, *that we have strong Places in our Possession. They have been willing to grant them us, against the Hatred of our Sworn Enemies: If at any time his Majesty does us the Honour to be present there, we desire no other Security, but his Presence.* Sentiments agreeable to the Character that's universally given him of one of the Wisest, Noblest, and most Religious Gentleman of his Age and Nation.

This Year 1614, being that of the King's Majority, by the Constitution of *France*, Founded on the Edict of *Charles* the Vth, Sirnam'd the Wise, in 1374 *Lewis* the XIIIth was declar'd Major. The *French* Kings when they enter their Fourteenth Year, commencing their Majority, *Mozera* speaking of this Edict of *Charles* the Wise, says, *That King believ'd it was very important for the Minority of Kings to be as short as possibly cou'd be, for fear the Regent of the Realm shou'd grow so Powerful, as to Dethrone his Pupil.* The first thing they made Young *Lewis* do, was to publish a Declaration for the Assembly of the States, and to confirm the Edict of *Nants*, which, says *Vassor*, it was said, *They wou'd keep Inviolably.* How they have perform'd it, the *History* of *Lewis* the XIIIth and his Son, sufficiently make appear. As the calling an Assembly of the States, was the Effect of the Stir lately made by the Prince of *Conde*, and the last Appearance of Liberty among the *French*, it will not be an improper Digression, to give a brief Account of the Antiquity and Nature of such Assemblies.

In the Eldest Times of this Monarchy, the Princes, call'd the Chief of the *French* Nation, met together on some Extraordinary and Important Occasions. The Mayors of the Palace usually Summon'd them once a Year: The Kings who had then only the Name of *Sovereigns*, presided in the Assembly; *Pepin* exactly kept up this Custom. The Principal Men of the Clergy were admitted to assist at it, and this Practice was continu'd by *Charlemagne*. *Lewis* the *Meek* render'd it more frequent. It was in those Assemblies, the Kings of the *Carolingian* Race, publish'd their *Capitular Decrees* and other Orders, and what they Enacted, by the Advice and Consent of the *Grandeess* and *Prelates* of the Kingdom. *Hugh Capet* having been recogniz'd King, by Virtue of an Agreement concluded with the Dukes, Earls and Barons, us'd to Assemble his Peers and Vassals, in which he was imitated by his Successors, who call'd this the *Holding their Parliament*. There the Differences between the Peers and Barons with the King were decided and the Affairs of the greatest Consequence to the Kingdom debated. There the Private Disputes between the Dukes, Earls and Barons, were definitively ended, and the Encroachments of the Pope and Clergy repuls'd. There they heard the Complaints of the People, about the Administration of Justice, and the Vexations of the Priesthood. What since has been call'd the *Third Estate*, or the Deputies of the People, owes its Original to *Philip the Fair*, upon his Return from his Expedition against the *Flemings*. Much about the same time, it is pretended those Deputies were admitted to assist at the Assemblies in *England*, tho' the latter is only Pretence, for the Old Verse tells us what such Assemblies were compos'd of, even before the Conquest in the *Saxon* Monarchy.

Prelati Proceres missisq; Potentibus Vires.

The Prelates, Peers, the Cities by their Powers:

This *Philip*, Sirnam'd the *Fair*, was the first that Summon'd the *Third Estate*, or demanded Money of his People, the Kings of *France* before his Time, living on their Demesnes. By this it appears, that the First Assemblies were of the Nobles and Clergy, and that about 450 Years ago, the *Third Estate* was added to raise Supplies for the Wants of the Crown, when its Demesnes and Ancient Revenues were Embezeld and Alienated. The Kings of the Race of *Valois*, us'd frequently to call Assemblies of the *Three Estates*, the Prelates, the Nobles, and the Deputies. *Charles* the Wise, always affected to have his Orders receiv'd in the Assembly of the States, and confirm'd the *Third*. It is remarkable, that *Philip de Valois* when he was threaten'd by *Edward* the Third, for keeping from him his Kingdom of *France*, Assembled only One of the *Three Estates*, the Peers and Barons, who depending more immediately upon the Crown, were sure to decide that Dispute against King *Edward*; whereas the Deputies of the People, who, in the best Times have their Interest only in View, might not have been so hasty to bring on themselves a Bloody War for his sake only.

I must own freely, I wonder at the Madness of some Nations in the darker Ages, who have involv'd themselves in the most Sanguinary Contests to support the Claims of Two Persons only, each of whose Government wou'd have made them as happy as the other. *Philip de Valois*, *John* and *Charles* the Vth, had a great Deference for their People, and often communicated to them the Affairs of State. When *Charles* the VIth became unfit to Govern, the *Three Estates* confer'd the Administration on the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, in preference to the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Brother. The Authority of these Assemblies was much lessen'd by *Lewis* the XIth, whose Father *Charles* the VIIth, having driven the *English* out of *France*, and possess'd himself of the Kingdom by the Sword, began to Rule Absolutely, and his

Son

Son had no Thoughts, but how to settle his Arbitrary Power, which was his Idol. He and his Successors found Means to alter the Constitution of these Assemblies, as also of their Great Councils Instituted at first for the Government of the State, but reduc'd by them to Ordinary Courts of Judicature, such as the Courts of Parliament now in France.

From the Reign of Lewis the XIth, to that of Henry the IVth, there was no Regular Assembly of the *Three Estates*, and that which he held at Roan, was too Partial to deserve the Name of the *States General*. The Truth is, these Assemblies in France, were almost all along made Tools to drain Money from the People, tho' sometimes a Spirit of Liberty exerted it self, as it seem'd to do in the Minority of Lewis the XIIIth, when the Prince of Conde and the Lords of his Party, demanded and obtained a Meeting of the *Three Estates*, the last that ever met in France. It open'd the 10th of October, 1614, and tho' in the Treaty concluded between the Regent and the Prince, it was Stipulated to be holden at Sens, yet She by her Authority, only remov'd it to Paris, that the Presence and Artifices of the Court might have the greater Influence; and to render this Meeting ineffectual, She so divided the Three Orders, that it was soon seen no Good was ever intended by admitting them to meet. For the very first Thing they d'd, was a Motion from the Nobility and Clergy, *To suppress the Sale of Offices*, which touching the Third Estate, compos'd chiefly of Gentlemen of the Long Robe to the quick, they retaliated upon them by a Proposal for lessening of Taxes, and suppressing of Pensions, which concern'd the Two other Estates to support. After long Debates in the several Orders about these Matters, the Clergy and Nobility Petition'd the King to supersede the Sale of Offices; and the Third Estate, to be reveng'd of them, did the same with respect to Taxes and Pensions. The Courtiers were extreamly pleas'd with these Di-

visions, which they look'd upon as a good Effect of their Intrigues; and nothing cou'd be more satisfactory to the Ministers, than to see that the Three Houses shou'd separately demand different Things, without being able to come to an Agreement among themselves. This furnish'd them with a Favourable Pretence not to grant any of their Demands. The Nobility minded only the continuance of their Pensions; the Depuries only the suppressing of the Tailles which paid them; and the Clergy had nothing so much at Heart, as the *Publication of the Council of Trent*, which had not been receiv'd in *France*. To this end, they were very complaisant to the Nobility, and the Court labour'd to get their Demands comply'd with, knowing it wou'd meet with insuperable Difficulties in the Third House, which wou'd soon give them Occasion to break up their Session, and all the Fault wou'd lye on the Three Orders, who cou'd not agree among themselves about their Greivances.

The Nobility concurr'd with the Clergy, for the receiving the Council of *Trent*, but the Deputies of the Third House wou'd not hear of it: And their Speaker, Monsieur *Miron*, Provost of the Merchants of *Paris*, shew'd in his Speech to the Deputies of the Clergy and Nobility, sent to the Third Estate for their Consent, that those *French Men* who had ever any Love for their Country, had always an Abhorrence of the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Pope, tho' they were Members of the *Roman Church*. *How many Councils*, said he, *have there been, which we have never publish'd in France?* And yet we observe the good Regulations made by them: The Gentlemen of the Clergy may renounce the Plurality of Livings, and reform the other Abuses Condemn'd by the Council, we shall be most Edify'd by it, and their Sincere Submission to its Ordinances, will be a tacite Acceptation of it. Their good Example in this Case, will be as advantageous to the Council of *Trent*, as a Formal Publication of it. The House of the Third
State,

State, return their Thanks to the Clergy for the Zeal they shew to propagate the Catholick Religion, and will endeavour to second their good Intentions: Whilst these Matters hung, a Proposal was made to Erect a Chamber of Justice, to inquire into the management of the Treasury during the Queen's Administration. This Proposal was first mov'd in the House of the Nobility, and pass'd there currently; but the Clergy, says Vassor, *still more Slaves to the Court than the Nobility, had some Scruples about it.* The Cardinal De Sourdis told them the like had been attempted before on several Occasions, but it was never found to turn to the Advantage of the Publick. Meer Shame at last oblig'd the House of the Clergy to agree to this Motion. The Deputies of the Third House heartily concurr'd in it, and the King was petition'd to Erect such a Chamber. The Court fell immediately to their usual Artifices of getting over some of the Nobility; and after two or three Answers to as many Petitions of the *Three Estates*, the Superintendant of the *Finances* told them, the King would chuse a Fit Number of Persons out of the Sovereign Courts of the Kingdom, to inquire into the management of the Treasury. The House of the Clergy presently contented themselves with this Offer, and Voted it *Satisfactory*. The Nobility did not insist on the Erecting a Court out of the Members of the *Three Estates*, and the Deputies of the Third House found themselves too weak to stand out against the other two.

It must be observ'd here, that when *Henry* the IVth dy'd, there was a Treasure of near 20 Millions of Livres in the *Bastile*, which was suppos'd to have been prodigally squander'd away by the Regent in Pensions and Profusion, besides the Annual Income of the Kingdom. To excuse this, the Superintendant told the Estates, that the yearly Revenue of *France* was but 18800000 Livres, and the Expence 21500000, whence it follow'd that there were near 3 Millions a Year wanting, and that might very well take up what was left in King *Henry's*

Coffers, adding to it the Charge of Secret Services never brought to Account. This Revenue of 18800000, was encreas'd during the Minority to 37000000, of which 10 only was brought into the King's Coffers; and during the Ministry of Cardinal Richlieu 'twas rais'd to 80000000, of which 45000000 only were employ'd in paying the Charges of the State; the rest under the Minority and that Ministry were lavish'd on *Favourites* and *Courtiers*, the Ministers of the Luxury and Ambition of their Princes. In *Lewis* the XIVth's Time, this Revenue mounted to no less than 140 Millions of Livres yearly, an Income sufficient to enslave so corrupt a World as that we live in; and how near to Slavery it was, let the Histories of this Age transmit to Posterity with the same Pride that they endur'd it.

I cannot think this Digression will be tedious, and then I am satisfy'd it will not be reckon'd impertinent. The honest and well-affected Members of the *Three Estates*, highly resenting the Treatment of the Court in the Business of the *Chamber of Justice*, thought they cou'd do their Country no better Service than to insert an Article in their Address, in which they gave the King most admirable Advice, in lively and pressing Terms, concerning the Method of regulating his Expences to the best Advantage: However, says my Author, a *Frenchman*, the Court did not much trouble their Heads with their Politicks, being fully resolv'd, as soon as the States were broke up, to take the Liberty of following such Councils as they should think fit. They also represented to his Majesty, that he ought by no means to lay any extraordinary Taxes upon his People, for That Hellish Maxim, adds he, that the King may exact from his Subjects whatever he pleases, and that therein his Will is the sole Rule of his Power was not then receiv'd in France. What I have before call'd an Address, is in French term'd a *Cahier*, and is a kind of Petition each Estate drew up to present to the King for the Redress of their Grievances. That of the Third Estate, at the Motion of the Deputies of

of Paris and of the Isle of France, incerted in theirs a very material Article for the Sovereign Power of the King, and the Security of his Royal Person, which was to this Effect, *That for preventing the Consequence of a pernicious Doctrine, which had been broach'd some Years since, against Kings and Sovereign Powers, his Majesty shou'd be desir'd to cause to be publish'd in the Assembly of the States General, as an inviolable and fundamental Law of the Kingdom, That the King being recognised Supreme in France, and holding his Authority from God alone, there was no Power upon Earth, either Spiritual or Temporal, that had Right to deprive him of his Kingdom; nor to dispence with, nor to absolve his Subjects from their Fidelity, and the Allegiance they ow'd him, for any Cause whatsoever, &c.* They then desir'd an Oath might be taken to this Purpose, by all Magistrates and Clergymen, with other Circumstances which aim'd directly enough at the usurp'd Authority of the Pope. The Deputies of the Third Estate were almost unanimous in their Votes for this Clause, which the Murder of the two preceding Kings had made as necessary as reasonable. The House of the Clergy cry'd out, *All is undone, all is undone, there are Rascals and Hereticks in the Assembly, that have conspir'd the Ruin of our Religion.* See the Loyalty of the French Priests, see the Happiness of having a double Jurisdiction in a Constitution; the sacred Power of Kings and the Safety of their Persons cannot be secur'd against the Assassinations and corrupt Doctrines of Priests, Slaves to Rome, but Religion is presently in Danger. The Clergy apply'd themselves to the Nobles, and they with great Complacency assur'd them, they wou'd enter on no Article of Faith or Doctrine without their Advice. You, said the Seigneur De Maintenon to the Deputies of the Clergy, *are our true and lawful Doctors, and it belongs to you to instruct us, and prescribe what we ought to believe in these Matters.* "Was there ever, says Monsieur Vassor, a more base and ridiculous Piece of Flattery than this? For were the Deputies of the
 " Clergy

“ Clergy such able and extraordinary Men? Had
 “ they all the Learning and Light imaginable? So
 “ far from it, that their House was compos’d for
 “ the most part of timorous, ignorant and supersti-
 “ tious Monks; and if there were any learned Men
 “ among them, their Ambition made them perfect
 “ Slaves to the Court of *Rome*. In the mean time
 the Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree in favour of
 the Article of the Third Estate, which the Nobility
 and Clergy had rejected. Cardinal *Du Perron* came
 to the Lower House, and spoke three Hours
 against it; and Monsieur *Miron* their President
 vindicated it with equal Reason and Gravity. These
 Disputes were very agreeable to the Court, as ob-
 structing the Proceedings of the States General.
 The Prince of *Conde*, in an Assembly of the
 King’s Council upon this extraordinary Occasion,
 made a Speech, which serv’d only to shew the Weak-
 ness of his Judgment and Spirit, for to ingratiate
 himself with the Clergy, he clos’d it with Advice,
That the King shou’d forbid the Clergy and the Third
Estate to dispute any longer on the controverted Arti-
cle, but that he shou’d be Judge himself; which was
 accordingly done, and the Execution of the *Arret*
 of Parliament superseded. What less cou’d have
 been expected from the blind Obedience of an *Italian*
 Princess to the Bishop of *Rome*? But the Clergy
 not thinking the Order of Council against the Ex-
 ecution of the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*
 strong enough, and encourag’d by the Partiality the
 Ministers had shewn them in this Dispute, remon-
 strated again, to which they receiv’d only a general
 Answer. This did not satisfy them, who fancy’d
 there were some Persons of great Interest and Ability
 in the King’s Council, that obstructed the Church
 in her Designs. The Marechal *De Bouillon* was
 chiefly suspected, and therefore Cardinal *Du Perron*
 said, *We challenge such of the King’s Council who are*
not Catholics, and humbly desire that his Majesty
wou’d not admit them therein when the Church Affairs
are concern’d. I wou’d not have appear’d therein,
reply’d Bouillon, who knew very well that he alone
 was

was meant in that Request, had the Church been concern'd in that Question; but seeing the Dispute relates to the King's Sovereignty, that Affair is merely political. You do wisely, Sir, said the Cardinal of Sourdis, in not meddling in a Point of Religion, but we maintain that the Contents of the Article of the Third Estate is of that Nature. "Could any thing," says "the Author I last mention'd, more plainly discover "the true Genius of the Clergy than that Answer? "Here is a Cardinal who maintains, in the very "Presence of his Prince, that the Supreme Authority of Kings being a Point wherein Religion is "concern'd, his Majesty cannot determine in his "Council, that the Pope has no Right to deprive "him of his Crown whenever he will be pleas'd "to declare him an Heretick. The Prince of Conde could not bear the Cardinal's Insolence, but the latter wither'd not his Reproaches, having so bigotted a Princess as *Mary De Medicis* to protect him, who so order'd it, that the Article in Contest was by the King's Command struck out of the *Cahier* of the Third Estate, tho' not without the Opposition of above an hundred Members. The Pope was so overjoy'd at this Triumph of the Clergy, which left it in his Power to depose of Princes at his Pleasure, and encourag'd his Russians to Murder them, that he wrote a Letter of Thanks to the Two Upper Houses of the States General. The Article being thus dropt, there was form'd a sort of Harmony between the Three Houses. The next about *Duelling* was agreed to by all of them. But this Harmony was soon interrupted by an Affront one of the Nobles put on one of the Deputies of the Third Estate. Monsieur *Bonneval*, one of the Deputies of the Nobility of Upper *Limousin*, Can'd one of the Deputies of the same District. The Third Estate complain'd to the King, and his Majesty referr'd the Cognizance of the Affair to the Parliament. The Nobles complain'd to the Clergy, that they had not been acquainted with it: The Clergy appear'd willing enough to side with them in it, but the Third Estate

Estate continuing a Vigorous Prosecution, pursu-
 ant to the King's Reference of the Matter to Par-
 liament, Monsieur *Bonneval* absconded, and Sen-
 tence pass'd against him to be Beheaded. About
 the same time there happen'd a New Occasion of
 Difference between *Mary de Medicis* and the Prince
 of *Conde*; the latter had had a Gentleman in his
 Service, who, having deserted it, enter'd into the
 Queen's, and was suspected by the Prince to be-
 tray his Secrets to her, which he was so offend-
 ed at, that he order'd another of his Servants;
Mr. Rochfort, to beat him whenever he met him.
Rochfort takes three or four Fellows with him,
 sets upon, and Wounded him in several Places.
 The King and Queen being inform'd of the Af-
 front offer'd them in the Person of one of their
 Servants, order'd *Rochfort* to be prosecuted as an
 Assassin. The Prince went immediately to Coun-
 cil, and said, *He thought it very strange, that they*
pretended to deal with him as with the meanest Sub-
ject in the Kingdom; adding, *I own whatever Roch-*
fort has done, 'tis by my Order; *Marcillac* has been
 punish'd for his Insolence and Infidelity. The Queen
 reply'd, *I have a better Opinion of Your Honour,*
than to think you will take upon You another's Crime
to protect him from being Prosecuted by Justice. The
 Queen and Prince had some hot Words, and the
 Young Prince, who had been prepossess'd against
 the King, was about to second his Mother in
 this Dispute, but she hinder'd him, and the Prince
 left the Council in a Passion, the King seeming
 angry with his Mother that she did not let him
 tell the Prince his Mind. This Violence in the
 Prince of *Conde* ruin'd his Interest in the States
 General, who seeing what little Credit he had at
 Court, declin'd embarking in his Quarrel. The
 Queen inform'd them of what pass'd, and the Three
 Orders address'd her that *Rochfort* might be pro-
 secuted notwithstanding the Declaration of the
 Prince, which was done so warmly, that his High-
 ness was forc'd to present a Petition to the Parli-
 ament, setting forth the Cause he had to proceed

as he did against *Marcillac*. The Queen to prevent their being influenc'd by it, sent for the President, and told them, he only intended to hinder the Prosecution of Justice. Her Majesty's Interposition was too strong for his Highness's, and he, who had made such a stir to protect *Rochfort*, was oblig'd to yield to a Warrant of Parliament, and open all the Doors of his House for their Officers to search for the Offender. Upon this Submission, the Queen accepted of the Mediation of Queen *Margaret* and the Countess of *Soissons*, in behalf of the Prince, and the matter was in appearance accommodated between them. The Prince coming to Court, was well receiv'd, *Marcillac* being abandon'd by *Mary de Medicis*, when she had had the Satisfaction to let the Prince see she was too hard for him, both in the Assembly of the States and in the Parliament, *Rochfort* had a Pardon, *Marcillac* in a Rage challeng'd him, but the Prince wou'd not suffer *Rochfort* to answer it, so the Affair dropt, all Parties thinking it Policy to carry it no further.

The Prince of *Conde* finding he shou'd not advance his Affairs much by the continuance of the Assembly of the States General, did not concern himself to procure it. The Court, who wish'd they cou'd have hinder'd their Assembling at all, was weary of them, as Zealous as they appear'd to be in its Service. The *Papists* had nothing to expect from them, which they cou'd not do better without them; and the Protestants no Good to hope from an Assembly so much byass'd by the Clergy. 'Tis no wonder, that in such a Disposition of Things, there was a quick End put to their Meeting, and that they never met more. What contributed chiefly to the Future Persecution of the Protestants, was the *Cahier* of the Clergy, in which they were treated not only as Hereticks but Infidels: Their Religion not being called *Religion Pretendue Reformee*, but *Pretendue Religion Reformee*. It consisted of 300 Articles, the Principal of which were direct Invasions of the
Edicts

Edicts in Favour of the Protestants, and there were no less than 65 of that Nature. I shall only name some of them, as *The Restoration of the Roman Religion in all Places under the King's Dominions, the Condemnation of all Books injurious to the Pope, the Revocation of all Pensions given upon Benefices to Protestants, Leave for Bishops to send to the Gallies, &c.*

I cannot help observing how fearful these Monks were of the Press, for there's another Article, *That the Printers in every City might be reduc'd to a certain Number, and no Books be printed without the Bishop's Licence; That all Books from abroad shou'd be prohibited, unless they had the same Approbation.* Those that are afraid of the Power of Truth will certainly be of the same Mind with these French Priests; tho' it is well known that the Protestants have done more than the Papists in France to polish their Language, to refine their Taste, and improve their Genius. A Truth confess'd by Monsieur Brantome, in his Memoirs, long before the Stephens, the Le Fevre's, the D' Ablincourt's, &c. appear'd in the World.

The Clergy further request in this Petition, *That the Marriage with Spain might be accomplish'd; That the Treaty of St. Menethond, tho' they ow'd their Session to it might be annull'd; That all Church Lands shou'd be restor'd; That Protestant Judges shou'd not take Cognizance of Ecclesiastical Causes; That all Privileges granted the Protestants since the Death of Henry the IVth be revok'd; That the Protestants should not bury in Church-yards, but be oppos'd if they offer'd it by Arms; That they should be forbidden to write or speak against the Sacraments of the Roman Church, or the Authority of the Pope, on Pain of severe Punishment; That their Ministers shou'd not visit the Sick; That their Temples shou'd be at least 1000 Paces distant from Churches; That their Patronages shou'd go to the next of Kin of the Catholick Religion; That Protestant Lords shou'd have Sermons in none of their Houses, but where*

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where they resided ; That their Colleges and Seminaries shou'd be taken from them ; That no Foreigners shou'd be allow'd to preach or teach any Doctrine but the Catholick within the Kingdom, &c. It wou'd be endless to repeat all the Articles intended against the Reform'd, which tho' they did not take Effect immediately, yet the future Conduct of the Court shew'd they made use of this *Cahier* as a Scheme to ruin the Protestants.

The Nobility, who were entirely gain'd over by the Clergy, did not speak so plainly in their Petition, but they propos'd a Clause, *That the King might be address'd to maintain the Catholick Religion according to his Coronation Oath.* The Protestant Lords took this Proposal as an Attack upon them, since part of the Oath is to destroy all *Hereticks*, which the Catholick Church had adjudg'd them to be ; and the Debate was so hot, that it was like to end in great Extremities. The King hearing of it, put an end to it, by giving both Sides good Words ; and by a new Declaration of the 12th of May, 1613. he confirm'd all former Edicts to the Reform'd. It began with great Elogies of the Queen's Conduct, of the Care she had taken to confirm those Edicts, in Imitation of the late King, and to remedy the Infractions of it. After this the King express'd in his Declaration, *That this good Effect of the Queen's Prudence had oblig'd him to entreat her to continue to assist him with her Council, tho' he had been declar'd Major, with the same Authority as if the Administration of the Kingdom were still in her Hands.* There was so much Dissimulation in this new Declaration, that there was no likelihood of its answering the End propos'd by it. The Parliament of Paris let it lie seven Weeks without Verification ; and, says my Author, it was so far from curing the Evil rais'd by the Contest among the Nobility, that it hardly serv'd to palliate. He goes on, *Indeed 'twas not very likely it should satisfy any body, considering how it was penn'd. It was natural to suspect that a constant Law cou'd not be the Sequel of a*

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Preface

Preface without Truth; That Imitation of Henry the IVth's Prudence, so much insisted upon, had never appear'd in the Queen's Conduct, on the contrary, she had abandon'd all the late King's Projects, alter'd, confounded and destroy'd all that he had done for the Peace and Grandeur of the Kingdom, and concluded the Alliance with Spain, for which he had express'd an invincible Aversion to his Dying Day. That Affectation of always speaking of the Imitation of a Prince, all whose Maxims had been Overthrown, offended those who griev'd to see how much the Regency had disfigur'd the Government. It is Odious to boast of a thing, the contrary of which is Notorious to every one; and Study'd Protestations of performing a Duty which one swerves from by a Thousand Actions, seldom perswade a thing which Effects contradict. Moreover, every Body was too sensible how many Cabals and Factions had torn the Kingdom during the Minority, to relish the Praises that were given to the Queen, of having maintain'd it in Peace, &c.

The Disagreement between the Upper and Lower Houses, was sufficient Ground for the Court to dissolve an Assembly that gave so little Satisfaction to France. The Mareschal De Brisac, who was sent to the House of the Clergy, on the difference about the Controverted Article, brought in by the Lower, exhorted them to finish their *Cahiers*, in order to their Dismission. 'Tis to be fear'd, says he, the Provinces will complain of the slow Proceedings of the States; there are some unquiet Spirits that love to be Fishing in Troubled Waters and Clamour because of the long Sitting of the Assembly; wherefore 'tis convenient to put a stop to this Extraordinary Commotion, and to restore Peace and Tranquility in the Kingdom. A Fortnight after this, the Duke De Vendesme was sent to the Three Houses on the same Errand, and to let them know how much they were oblig'd to the King that he did not demand Money of them as his Ancestors were wont to do, which he did not, probably, because never intending to depend
on

on them for Supplies, or to make use of them any more, he might make no New President of the Necessity of their Meeting for that Purpose.

The Nobility joyn'd with the Lower House. in desiring they might not be dismiss'd till the King had given his Answer to their several *Cahiers*, tho' with different Views; the former being earnest to have the *Sale of Offices* suppress'd, and the latter to have the same done by *Pensions*. The Clergy also finding there was no other way to get the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, joyn'd with the other Two Estates in addressing the King, that the *Cahiers* might be answer'd before the breaking up of the States General. Nay, there is on this Occasion, an Instance of Honesty in a *French* Priest, that might make some of the Order in our own Church, the Bulwark and Ornament of the Reform'd Religion blush. For he told the Members of his House, that the suppressing the *Sale of Offices* and *Pensions*, was a Trifle in comparison of the Affairs that they ought to take Cognizance of: To settle the King's Counsel, and regulate the Treasury, these, says he, are the Affairs the Three Houses ought mostly to be taken up with: There is no Assembly but the States General to determine these Matters, for what other Assembly wou'd be so bold as to expose themselves to the Hatred and Resentment of Powerful Men, whose Interest obliges them to hinder all they can the falling upon Two such Tender Points as these. 'Tis suppos'd this Honest Monk was engag'd by the Prince of Conde to make this Motion, for inquiring into the present Administration, which the Prince aim'd at with a Design to turn out the Chancellor Sillery, the Treasurer Jeannin, and all the Mareschal D' Ancre's Friends and Creatures, from the Council and Ministry. But no Body had Courage enough to second this brave Motion; yet the Three Estates took upon them to direct the King, whom he shou'd advise with, when he took into Consideration the Answer to be given to their *Cahiers*, naming only the Princes and Officers of the Crown, and desiring if he call'd in any of his

other Counsellors, he wou'd please to give in a List of them, and consent that the Three Orders might Name five or six to consult with the Princes and Officers of the Crown, about the Answer they were to receive to their Petition. Nay, they insisted, *That four or five Deputies of each House might be present at the Council, when the Cahiers should there be Examin'd.*

I defy the *English* History to give any Instance in the most Flourishing Times of Liberty, that ever a Parliament of *England* shou'd dare to prescribe to the Sovereign whom to chuse for his Counsellors, and demand to have the Naming of One of them. Is it not therefore Prodigious to see how the Spirit of the *French* are sunk, even from what it was a Hundred Years ago, in the Reign of the Father of *Lewis Le Grand*. The only way the Regent had to avoid complying in some measure with the States Demands, was to gain over the Clergy, no hard matter for her to do, who had the Bishopricks and Benefices at her disposal. She upbraided the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, that the House of the Clergy had *Blindly given in to the Proposals of the other Houses*; that they demanded dangerous Novelties, and the like. But what won him at once, was, her giving him to understand that the Clergy shou'd never obtain their Demands as long as the Assembly sate: That if the Ministers of State, who were in the Church Interest, were excluded from deliberating upon the King's Answers, the Commons wou'd start insurmountable Difficulties, and perhaps the Nobility joyn with them. She concluded, *You are now pretty well United, when the Assembly is broke up, they can't recal their Word, and the Third Estate will no further cross you with Remonstrances.* As soon as Cardinal *du Pernon* was inform'd of the Queen's Pleasure, he fell in with it immediately, and there was no more Talk of continuing the Session among the Priests, whose Order resolv'd to be Obedient, as the Phrase began to be. *A Specious Name, says Vassor, with which the Timorous, or those who are*

to make their Interests in France, Colour all their Baseness. The Nobility made some Opposition, and represented to the Clergy, *How base it was to give up to the Court all that is displeasing to the Ministers.* They persisted in resolving to demand the Calling of Six of the most Ancient Counsellors to assist at the Deliberations of the Answers to the *Cahiers*, and the Clergy durst not refuse to joyn in with them, for fear of the Nobility and Commons uniting against them; so the Arch-Bishop of *Aix*, of the Family of *Hopital*, was appointed to make this Remonstrance to the King, upon which the Duke de *Ventadour* was sent to the House of the Clergy, to separate them from the Two other Houses, hoping then to make them all desist from their Demands, on a Promise of accepting a Deputation from each Order, to represent to the King and his Council, the Reasons why their Orders thought fit to make them. But it seems the Priests were not in so good a Temper as was expected, and the Cardinal de *Sourdis* told the Duke in plain Terms, *That House wou'd persist in their Humble Requests.* And accordingly the Bishop of *Grenoble*, at the Head of the Three Houses, deliver'd another Remonstrance on that Head, upon which the Court assum'd the Air of Authority, "Set them a Day for delivering their Memorial, and promise'd if there was Occasion for their Meeting again about the Answer, they shou'd have timely Notice." This contented the Clergy, and the Two other Orders being deserted by them, were oblig'd to submit, and all Three deliver'd in their *Cahiers*: That of the Clergy, of which mention has already been made, was deliver'd by *Armand John de Pleffis*, Bishop of *Lucon*, afterwards Cardinal *Richlieu*, a great Stickler for the Regent in this Assembly. He spoke with great Vehemence against the Reform'd, and particularly of a Riot at *Mithau*, in the Diocess of *Rhodes*, where they had taken Arms, routed the Ecclesiasticks, broken the Crucifixes, torn the Ornaments, broken down the Altars, prophan'd the Relicks, taken the Pix out

of the Tabernacle, flung down the Consecrated Hosts, and trampled them under their Feet, which the King hearing said, *He thought himself as much oblig'd to revenge the Stabbing of his God, as the Parricide of his Father*, and doubtless he had done it, had not the *Papists* committed a worse Riot at *Belestar* in the same Diocess, pulling down the Temple of the Reform'd, and Plundering, Beating and Wounding those of that Religion; of which Complaint being made to Court much about the same time, both Affairs were alike referr'd to Judges, and after having been some Months in Agitation, came to nothing.

Upon the Breaking up of the General Assembly, which was the 20th of *February*, the Baron de *Senecy* made a Speech for the Nobility, and Monsieur *Miron* for the Commons. The latter was observ'd to be full Respectful, and yet Bold, all which had no other Effect, than the Naming Commissioners by the Court to Examine the *Cahiers*, that Answers might be given to the Deputies of the Three Orders. And the Answer to that Part of the *Cahiers*, which related to the selling of Offices, was, that it should be abolish'd, but instead thereof, a Yearly Duty was to be laid on Salt, which falling hard on the Midling sort of People, the Lower Order oppos'd it, and met again to Address the King against it. The King had probited any such Formal Meeting, and told them, *I, very well understand what you have represented to me, I will ease my People as much as lyes in my Power, and to that end will advise with the Queen my Mother and my Council*. Then the Regent told them, *so long a Continuance at Paris, being very Chargeable and Troublesome to them, it was high time now for them, to think of repairing Home to their respective Countries*. Thus was the last Assembly of the States General of *France*, sent packing, without having obtain'd the Redress of one Greivance. The Clergy were the only Gainers, and the Protestants, tho' not the only, the Chief Losers. The Deputies of the other Orders obtain-

ed nothing but Vain General Promises, of which they were sensible they shou'd never see the Effects.

The Queen Regent having given a Mareschal's Staff to *Conchini's* Husband, now call'd the Mareschal D' *Ancre*, it rais'd the Envy of almost all the Prime Nobility. Tho' the Prince of *Conde* had lost Ground by the Meeting of the States, which shew'd what little Interest he had in them, yet being the First Prince of the Blood, and the Court taking no Notice of the States *Cahiers*, the Parliament of *Paris*, the shadow of that Assembly, began to cast their Eyes upon him. About a Month after the breaking up of the Estates, they made a Decree, inviting the Princes, the Peers, and Officers of the Crown that sit among them, to Assemble with them to remedy the Disorders of the State. This Boldness very much alarm'd and offended the Court: They sent for the Parliament to have an Account of their Enterprize, revers'd their Decree, and forbad the Execution of it, as will be seen hereafter more at large. The Parliament, instead of passive Obedience, remonstrated to the King, as became Men who lov'd the Glory and Peace of the State, insisting Vigorously on the Article of the Third Estate, which the Court had rejected. One of the Articles of their Remonstrance ought not to be forgotten; *They desir'd his Majesty to preserve the Splendor and Dignity of the Roman Religion, without swerving from the Edicts of Pacification.* See here ye Bigotted Britains, a Body of French Papists bravely standing up for redressing of Greivances, and Toleration to Protestants, Men that declar'd themselves for Moderation in Religious Matters, and learn all of you, who know not that Lesson, *To Love your Country and your Neighbours.* The Mareschal de *Bouillon* was at the bottom of this brave Attempt of the Parliament of *Paris*, to save the Dying Liberties of *France*: He was enrag'd to find himself neglected, and tho' he had no great Opinion of the Prince of *Conde's* Capacity or Constancy, yet as he was First Prince

of the Blood, he thought it his Interest to joyn in with him, and engage as many Great Lords and others as he cou'd in his Party, to make Head against the Mareschal D' *Ancre* and the Ministry. To this Purpose, he held Intelligence with *Edmunds* the *English* Ambassador, Tho', as *Vassor* expresses himself, *There was little or no Ground to depend upon a weak King, and one who was dependent on his Ministers*; yet the Mareschal was of Opinion it wou'd do good if he cou'd say only King *James* was on their side. And it was on the forming this Party, that the Parliament presented their Vigorous Remonstrance. The Queen look'd upon it as an Invective against her Government; the Mareschal D' *Ancre* as an Affront offer'd by those that envy'd him; the President *Jeannin*, as a Reproach of the Dissipation of the Finances: And the Dukes of *Guise* and *Epernon* having old Grudges against that Venerable Body, offer'd their Service to the Queen and Ministry, to Humble, if not Destroy them. Upon which a Decree of Council was publish'd in the King's Name, to annul that of the Parliament, Commanding it to be taken out of the Registers, and that of the Council to be put in its room; which Injury done to the Chief Senate of *France*, increas'd the Prince's Party, to which the Mareschal de *Bouillon*, did his utmost to add that of the Reform'd, and at last engag'd their Deputies, Monsieur *Rouvray*, Monsieur *Des Bordes*, Monsieur *Mirande*, and Monsieur *Bertheville*. But how did he engage them, by Perswasions founded on the Welfare of the Publick, or the Advancement of Religion? No, by promising Advantages and Honours to themselves as Monsieur *Rouvray* to be Ambassador to the *United Provinces*, Monsieur *Des Bordes* to be a Counsellor in Parliament, Monsieur *Bertheville* to be Deputy General of the Reform'd Churches of *France*: *Powerful and Perswasive Motives*, says the Duke of *Roban*.

I have

I have before mention'd the Order of Council publish'd against the Decree of Parliament, in the Management of which happen'd several Turns, that shew how little one may depend on the Honour of Men in Places of Profit for their Love to their Country, when their own private Interest can be better serv'd at the Expence of both.

When the Court sent for Monsieur Servien, Advocate General, to give him Instructions to set up the Order of Council against the Parliament's Decree, he at first strenuously defended the latter, saying, *If any body should go about to speak against the Parliament, we shou'd be oblig'd to maintain the Legality of the Decree.* The Queen reply'd in a Passion, *You would get more by obeying the King.* Monsieur Servien perceiving a Bishop come up to hear with greater Satisfaction how severely their Majesties express'd themselves against the Parliament, and that Prelate being one of the most zealous for the Pope's Superiority, the Advocate General rais'd his Voice, and said, *Madam, we have long ago obtain'd the Glory of rendering that Obedience we owe to the King, that Obedience which all who hear us owe him likewise, of what Quality soever they may be. We have always shewn, and always shall shew by our Discourses and Example, Sir, continu'd he, turning to the King, that you hold your Authority from God only, and that you in no way depend on any other Power whatsoever, as to what concerns the Temporal Government of your Kingdom, &c.* All the Instances of the Advocate General and the King's Counsellors were to no purpose, they were order'd to acquaint the Parliament with his Majesty's Pleasure; and tho' Monsieur Servien complimented that Body, as the lively Resemblance of an old Roman Senate, yet he found them just such another Assembly as the Senate of Rome under the Emperors. They readily comply'd with the Orders they receiv'd; and Monsieur Servien himself, when he made his Report to the King, assur'd him, *There was nothing in the World that they more heartily desir'd than the Preservation of his Authority, and nothing was dearer to them than his Favour.* But

the Marechal De Bouillon found Means to aggravate these Mortifications, in such a manner, to that Body, that they resolv'd to stand by their Decree; Monsieur Verdun, the first President, holding a strict Correspondence with the Marechal. Upon this the Presidents are sent for to Court, and told, That holding their Authority from the King, they ought to make no other Use of it but to assert his Authority, and intimating, that what was done was taken to be an Effect of the rash and young Members of this Body, Monsieur Verdun answer'd, that they were unanimous. The Queen saying, She return'd her Thanks to all that had oppos'd this Innovation; that the King her Son should remember their Fidelity, and she would use her Endeavours to prompt him to bestow some Tokens of his Kindness upon them, the first President reply'd, Madam, we do most humbly desire you to be perswaded that we have been all concern'd in the Decree, to give no Credit to the contrary Report, and to favour us all equally with your Kindness and your Protection with the King. And the Parliament, when they return'd to their Court, persisting in their Resolution to maintain their Arret, she sent for them again. The King referr'd them to his Mother, who set an Example to all future Governments in France, to treat that Body with no more Ceremony than the meanest Corporation in the Kingdom, in which she has been imitated by them all: *He is your King and your Master, says she, be perswaded he shall exert his Authority, if you trespass his Injunctions; those are Men ill-affect'd to his Service, who put you upon fighting his Orders.* The first President said coldly, *He would acquaint the Parliament with the King's Intentions.* However, the Committee they had appointed to draw up a Remonstrance, pursuant to their Decree, went on with it. The Queen and Ministry being apprehensive that the Parliament wou'd not have taken this Step, if they had not been put upon it by the opposite Party, thought it advisable to keep the Protestants in as good a Humour as they could, by Promises and fair Words. She rely'd on the Probity and Moderation of Monsieur

ſieur Du Pleſſis Mornay. The Miniſters and Secretaries of State often wrote to him, and he was acquainted with all the Proceedings of the States General. In a word, the Court made a Shew of ſetting a great Value on the Advices of that wiſe Gentleman, as if they reſolv'd to follow them upon all Occaſions, and the Reform'd having been alarm'd at the Propoſal made in the States General, that the King ſhould be addreſſ'd to maintain the Catholick Religion, according to his Coronation Oath, againſt Hereticks, to eaſe them of their Fears, the before-mention'd Declaration was put forth in their Favour the 12th of *March, 1615.* wherein he declares, *He will keep INVIOLABLY what his Father and himſelf had granted to the Proteſtants, commanding that all Edicts, Declarations and private Articles ſhould be religiously maintain'd.* We ſhall ſee preſently how this Declaration and theſe Commands were obſerv'd. What follows is a Confeſſion from the Mouth of this King, of a Truth he but ill practis'd in the Courſe of his Reign, and his Succeſſor much worſe than himſelf: *We expect from the Divine Mercy, ſays he, that he will reunite all our Subjects in the ſame Religion by the ordinary and uſual Means, the Church being fully perſwaded by the Experience of Times paſt that violent Remedies were never effectual, &c.* Theſe fine Speeches were to prepare the way for a General Aſſembly of the Reform'd, which was to meet at *Grenoble*, a Place the Proteſtants did not at all approve of, as being entirely in the Poſſeſſion of the Mareſchal *De Lesdiſguieres*, whoſe Diſſimulation and double Dealing they were as much afraid of as aſham'd of his ſcandalous Life; of which the following Story is a ſufficient Proof, and in it will be ſeen what infamous things the greateſt Men are capable of to gratify their Ambition and Inter-eſt. *Charles Blanchefart, Sieur De Gregui*, had marry'd the only Daughter remaining of the Mareſchal *De Lesdiſguieres's* lawful Children; but the Mareſchal had two other Daughters by a certain Woman nam'd *Mary Vignon*, whom he had taken away from her Husband, *Eunemonid Matel*, a Silk Merchant at *Grenoble.*

Grenoble. Their Commerce was for some time kept private, *Lesdisguieres's* Wife being living; but as soon as she dy'd, he caus'd her to be call'd *Madam De Moyranc*, the Name of one of his Lordship's, tho' he was then above threescore Year's old. *La Moyranc* not being satisfy'd to be serv'd and respected as if she had been his lawful Wife, would needs marry him, her Husband being still living. To remove him out of the way, Colonel *Alard* his Confident, a Man who carry'd on the Intrigues between the Duke of *Savoy* and him, took upon himself to get poor *Marel* murder'd, and all the World presently suspected he was the Instrument *La Moyranc* had employ'd to rid her self of her Husband. The Parliament of *Grenoble* order'd *Alard* to be apprehended on Suspicion. The Mareschal, who had absented himself while the horrid Fact was perpetrating, hasten'd to *Grenoble* as soon as he heard *Alard* was secur'd. But the Difficulty was how to get him out of the publick Prison. To this end he went to it himself, and took him out, pretending he was the Duke of *Savoy's* Minister, and not to be medled with, unless his Highness gave Leave. The first President of *Grenoble* being highly provok'd at such a Violence, which plainly prov'd the Mareschal was privy to the Crime, made a great Castle; but nothing came of it. The Court, who stood more in need of *Lesdisguieres* than of him, induc'd the King to give an Act, whereby he own'd all the Mareschal had done, in order to take *Alard* out of the Hands of the Magistrate. He now gave Orders that *La Moyranc* should have the Title of Marchioness of *Tresfort*, and afterwards marry'd her, *Hugues* Arch-Bishop of *Ambrun* giving his Blessing to that Criminal Marriage, *La Moyranc* being a Roman Catholick, and *Lesdisguieres*, who wou'd still retain the Name of a Protestant, submitted himself to the Ecclesiastical Censure, ordain'd by the Re-form'd against those that marry after the way of the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis reported that *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, being perswaded that *La Moyranc* had a prevailing Interest with the Mareschal,

reschal, was so base as to propose to them a Match between the Count of *Sault*, Son to *Crequi*, and *Lesdisguieres*'s Grandson, and the Princess of *Savoy*; as also another Match between *La Moyranc*'s second Daughter, whom the Mareschal tenderly lov'd, and one of *Charles Emanuel*'s Sons. Perhaps this was only an Artifice of that Duke's, who was passionately desirous to secure *Lesdisguieres* in his Interest. The Count of *Sault* marry'd since this second Daughter, his Aunt, but she dy'd without Issue. *Crequi* was then afraid lest the eldest Daughter of *La Moyranc*, marry'd to the Marquis of *Mombrun*, shou'd deprive the Count of *Sault* of a considerable Share of the Succession of his Grand-father; and to prevent it, so effectually manag'd the matter that *Mombrun*'s Marriage was dissolv'd. *Crequi* press'd his Son to marry her, tho' she was his Aunt, and his Sister-in-Law, which the young Count refus'd with Horror. Upon which his Father marry'd her himself, Sister as she was to his first Wife. All these incestuous Marriages cou'd not be perform'd without Dispensations from *Rome*; which is enough to give one an Idea of the Religion and Justice of that Court, as it does of the Honour and Virtue of *Lesdisguieres* and *Crequi*.

Cou'd the Reform'd think of bringing such a Scandal on their Religion, as to put themselves in the Hands of a Murderer and Adulterer? Besides all this, the Protestants had very good Reason to be jealous of his keeping a close Correspondence with the Queen and Ministry, to whom he was ready enough to sacrifice them at any time for his own Interest. They therefore desir'd to meet at some other Place than *Grenoble*; but hearing the Mareschal was about to leave it, and come to *Paris*, they agreed to meet there; which when they had done, the Mareschal put off his Journey, and stay'd to assist at the Assembly. sending *Ballasson* to Court with Assurances of his Fidelity, and to receive their Orders.

In the mean the Parliament had finish'd the Remonstrance already spoken of, and a Committee of them went with great Ceremony to deliver it, the People following their Coaches with loud Acclamations to the Gates of the *Louvre*, where was in the Court, at the Windows, and on the Stair-Cases, as great a Crowd as ever was seen. They were introduc'd by Monsieur *Vitri*, Captain of the Guards, into the Council Chamber, where were the King and Queen, accompany'd by the Dukes of *Guise*, *Nevers*, *Vendome*, *Montmerency* and *Epernon*; the Chancellor *Sillery*, the Marshals *D'Ancre* and *Souvre*, and many other Lords and Chief Councillors of State. The Remonstrance being deliver'd to the King, he gave it to *Lomenie*, Secretary of State, and his Majesty commanded the Parliament to withdraw; upon which Mr. *Verdun*, the First President said, *Sir, we are order'd by the rest of our Body, most humbly to beseech Your Majesty, that our Remonstrance be presently read*. All that were present, heard it seemingly with much Attention and Gravity, under which appearance they conceal'd the most Furious Sentiments of Passion and Resentment, according as it severally touch'd them. This was one of the last Efforts of Expiring Liberty in the Parliament of *Paris*, and therefore worth the *Readers* being acquainted with it. They prov'd by many uncontrovertible Instances, that the Parliament had a Right to take Cognizance of State Affairs: And then they proceeded to set forth their Greivances, which touching the Marschal *D'Ancre*, the Chancellor *Sillery*, and others who were at the hearing of it, gave Pleasure to the Great Lords, who cou'd not forbear casting their Eyes upon them, as often as any Article was read wherein they were concern'd. The Substance of the Remonstrance, was to assert the Independency of the Monarchy of France, which struck at Cardinal *du Perron's* Speech to the States General, in favour of the Pope. They desir'd Foreign Alliances may be maintain'd. This the Regent understood very

very well, to be aim'd at the Conclusion of the Double Match, which broke the Treaties with the Protestant Princes and States, enter'd into by Henry the IVth, against the Exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*. They pray'd his Majesty to call the *Princes and the Great Officers of the Crown* to his Council, and turn out those who had been brought in by Favour, without Merit. At the reading of this, the Marreschal D' *Ancre* and his Creatures, turn'd Pale, to the Satisfaction of almost all the Spectatois. They remonstrated against *Pensions and Gratuities from Foreign Princes*, and against employing Strangers in Offices, either Civil or Military. They asserted the Liberties of the *Gallician Church*, in opposition to the Usurpation of that of Rome. They insinuated an Expulsion of the *Jesuits*: They complain'd of the Abuses in the Administration of Justice and the Finances, which was design'd against the Chancellor *Sillery*, and the Comptroller of the Finances *Jeannin*. They ended with humbly beseeching His Majesty to suffer their *Arret*, inviting the Princes and Peers to deliberate with them about the State of the Nation, to stand in Force. These Articles were full and vigorously express'd, and when the whole Remonstrance was read, the Members of the Parliament were order'd to withdraw. After they were call'd in again, the King said, *I have heard your Remonstrance, and I am not pleas'd with it; the Queen my Mother, will acquaint you with my Intentions*. Tho nothing had been said particularly against her, on the contrary she had been commended in some Parts of the Remonstrance; yet 'twas plain all of it tended to oppose her Administration, and she took it accordingly, which set her in a Violent Passion, and in this Fury she answer'd the Parliament to this purpose. "The King has just Reason to be offended at the Attempts of his Parliament; you have taken the Affairs of State into your Consideration, notwithstanding you were forbidden so to do. Do you resolve to reform the Kingdom? Will you prescribe

“ prescribe us Laws for the Government, and Ad-
 “ ministration of the Treasury? I perceive very
 “ well what it is you aim at; you have a Design
 “ upon my Regency, which has been approv’d of
 “ by all the Orders of the Kingdom, in the As-
 “ sembly of the States General, and was even
 “ commended by the Parliament it self. When
 “ you desire to have the pretended Abuses re-
 “ dress’d, which have been introduc’d since the
 “ Death of the late King, you plainly declare by
 “ that, that I have not Govern’d as I ought. I
 “ have been sufficiently inform’d, how all things
 “ were carry’d in the Parliament: Your Re-
 “ monstrance has not met with a General Appro-
 “ bation there, Six Presidents oppos’d it; but the
 “ Faction of Six or Seven other Presidents or
 “ Councillors, have carry’d it: We will not for
 “ the future, suffer any such like Attempts. This
 “ I say positively, and I am pleas’d that all the
 “ World shou’d know it, *France* has never had
 “ a more happy Regency than mine.” She cou’d
 go no farther, being so transported with Passion.
 The Chancellor was in not much better Temper
 than Her Majesty, but he put a better Face upon
 it, and after having in his Speech enlarg’d on the
 Boundless Power of the Kings of *France*, he en-
 deavour’d to lessen the Authority of the Parlia-
 ment, and flatter’d the Queen even more than she
 had flatter’d herself. *Jeannin* desir’d them not to
 believe False Reports, and Vindicated himself as
 to the management of the Treasury. The other
 Lords, who had not the Gift of Oratory, and be-
 sides were not so much concern’d in the Remon-
 strance, did not make Speeches. The Dukes of
Guise, *Montmerency* and *Vendome*, rose up and of-
 fer’d to stand by the King with their Lives and
 Fortunes, against all who shou’d dare to disobey
 him, assuring him they wou’d not go to the Par-
 liament, unless his Majesty sent them to main-
 tain his Royal Authority. The Duke of *Epernon*
 said, *The Parliament have no Power to Call the*
Peers, nor to Assemble them without the King’s Per-
mission.

mission. I have the Honour of sitting in it, God forbid I shou'd ever inform them of State Affairs: Such was the Slavish Compliance of those Lords, with the Queen and Her Ministry. It will not be long before we shall find how they were themselves punish'd for being accessary to the destroying the Authority of this Venerable Body. The Queen, and they too late, apply'd to them for Protection against the Insolence of a Minister, of as little Merit as *Conchini*, and they late repented of a Folly in which they now Glory. The First President endeavour'd to reply to the Duke de *Epernon*, and they came to high Words, but the Queen interpos'd, and prevented the ill Consequences that might have happen'd. The Marechal D' *Ancre* had nothing to say for himself, but complain'd of Libels and Lampoons; such Favourites as he may very well be afraid of Wit and Truth, for they will always be against them. He produc'd a Pamphlet, call'd the *French Cassandra*, several Passages of which he had mark'd for the Queen to take Notice of. *See here*, said she, *How Lampoons and Libels against the King and me are permitted*, and then gave it to the Secretary to read those Passages. The First President reply'd, *He had made a strict Enquiry after the Printer, but cou'd not find him out.* The Duke de *Epernon* answer'd, *You shou'd inquire after the Authors of such Scandal, Printers are poor sorry Fellows, who have no other Design, but to get a Penny for a pitiful Livelihood.*

Authors and Printers will never have a good Word from those who are Enemies to their Country, from the Creatures of Tyranny. There's not so sorry a Fellow in the World, as he who betrays the Liberties of his Fellow Subjects, nor a Livelihood so pitiful, let it be with all the outward appearances of Grandeur, as that which subsists by Flattery and Corruption.

The Duke of *Nevers* was the only Lord that had Courage to say a Word in favour of the Parliament. *I have given them no Commission to speak*
for

for me, said he, I know what I owe to the King; there are some good things in the Remonstrance, if there be any that are ill, his Majesty may reject them. No Body minded him, and Three Days afterwards, the King's Decree in Council was Publish'd, declaring, *The Parliament to have gone beyond their Power; that it was only a Court erected to administer Justice.* Their Ordinances touching these Matters were repeal'd, and they were enjoin'd not to meddle any more for the future, with *State Affairs.* This Decree bore Date the 25th of May, 1615, and from that time have their Senate been indeed no more than a Court of Justice, except when there have been Commotions in the State, and the Court or the Princes have thought it for their Interest to engage them on their side. They have then assum'd occasionally a Face of Authority, but on no better Foundation than the present Necessity of a Troublesome Juncture of Affairs; which being over, this Decree of *Levis* the XIIIth, under the direction of his Mother *Mary de Medicis*, was the Rule of their Conduct, and instead of a Senate, they have from that Year to this, been no more than a Body of Men depending entirely on the Crown, ready to receive with a Slavish Submission, all the Orders sent them by the Ministers, and to give them the Sanction of Laws. Thus in Three Months there was an end put to the Authority of the Two Assemblies, that were the Bulwarks of the *French Liberties*, that of the States General, and that of the Parliament of *Paris.*

The Decree above mention'd, did not pass without Obstacles, and those from the King's own Servants, the Advocate and Attorney-General, who were order'd to carry it to the Parliament. These Gentlemen were Members of the Assembly, and represented that it seem'd as if they had a mind to have them ill look'd upon by them, which wou'd be a means to render them incapable of serving his Majesty in Parliament. Monsieur *Servien*, the Advocate General, made use of all the
Flowers

Flowers of his Rhetorick to be excus'd from that Message. The Queen told him with great Warmth, *The King will have it so, his Commands and mine ought to be obey'd without any Excuse or Delay.* Then Monsieur Mole, the Attorney-General, fell down at the King's Feet, to desire him to consider their Station in Parliament, but the King was also inflexible, *I will have it so,* said he, *and the Queen too.* Servien when he came to the Parliament, represented how unwillingly he obey'd the Royal Commands, and to moderate Matters, advis'd them to make their Submission, and Protest both to the King and his Mother, that the Parliament had never found Fault with their Proceedings, tho' 'twas plain that every Word of their Remonstrance reflected on the Administration of the Government since the Death of Henry the IVth. The Parliament, whose Spirit was sunk with their ill Success, inclin'd to do what the Advocate had propos'd, but the Queen sent for Servien, and told him, *the King wou'd hearken to nothing till his Decree was read and register'd.* Servien continu'd to make Excuses for the Parliament, with respect to her Regency, but all in vain. The Decree must pass in due Form, tho' by it all the Arrers of Parliament on this Subject, were to be raz'd out of the Registers. *The King Wills and Commands you,* reply'd she with an imperious Air, *to see that his Orders be punctually obey'd, and that the Decree of his Council be Read and Recorded under Pain of Disobedience.* At last the Decree was read, but the Registring of it met with a strenuous Opposition, and was not soon determin'd.

In the mean time the Double Match going forward, the Princesses of France and Spain were to be exchange'd, and the Queen press'd the King to begin his Progress to the Frontiers for that purpose; the Prince of Conde oppos'd it to his utmost, giving several plausible Reasons, which having no weight with the Queen, he return'd to his Country of Clermont, and the Marechal de Bouillon to his Principality of Sedan, the Duke de Mayenne

to *Soissons*, and the Duke de *Longueville* to *Picardy*. Things tending thus to a Rupture, both sides began a Paper War, in which the Weakest in the Field, had the best at the Press, as it commonly happens in other Cases; when Power prevails over Right. The Queen being intent on the Progress, and afraid of leaving the Parliament disgusted, when the discontented Lords were ready to take Arms, thought to accommodate Matters with that Body, and to be contented with their former Offers of Submission. Upon Notice of this from the Advocate General, the Zeal of this other *Roman* Senate vanishes, and the Patriot Monsieur *Verdun*, the First President, presents himself with his Company before their Majesties, to signify to them, *how extreamly the Assembly was affected with their Dissatisfaction*, and to protest they never had any Design of concerning themselves with their Actions, highly applauding the Queen's Wise Conduct. They declin'd all further Proceedings, and the Decree of the Council, which repeal'd their *Arrests*, was not executed with any Severity.

Let us not say they were *Frenchmen* who so basely gave up the Cause of Liberty, unless we can distinguish any other Nation by their Perseverance at all times in maintaining it. Other Nations there are who have pretended more to it, and yet have been found as slavish in their Compliance with Despotick Power as were these *French* Senators, who were not likely to save the Freedom of their Country, when they had not Courage enough to embrace the Opportunity that was offering it self to support it, by the Declaration of the first Prince of the Blood, and the most powerful Lords of the Kingdom, for the Redress of those Grievances against which they remonstrated.

The Queen, to hinder any Disturbances in her Absence, sent *Villeroy* to the Prince of *Conde*, with Offers of giving him entire Satisfaction as to his Share in the Administration of the Government; for well she knew if he was satisfy'd in that Point, he would sacrifice all others. But he had been so
often

often deceiv'd by her, he durst not trust her ; otherwise, no doubt, their Differences would have been easily and presently adjusted. This Diffidence made the Prince keep a little more steady to his Party than he us'd to do ; and his Coldness in accepting the fair Proposals made him by *Villeroy*, occasion'd another Conference between him and *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*, to endeavour to bring him over. The Lords of his Party were come to him, to see how Affairs were manag'd, and to have an Eye over his Conduct ; and the Marechal *D' Ancre* and *Silleri* the Chancellor, being apprehensive that *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* would give them up for an Accommodation, so represented the Danger of these Negotiations, with the double Match, to the Queen, that she got the King to send *Pontchartrain*, Secretary of State, with a Letter to the Prince, to demand a positive Answer, Whether he wou'd attend him or not in his Progress ? This enrag'd the Prince of *Conde* to that Degree, that he comply'd with the Desires of the discontented Lords, and resolv'd to take Arms. He also wrote a Letter to the King, in which having complain'd of the Abuses in the Government, he charg'd the Marechal *D' Ancre* and the Chancellor *Silleri* by Name, as the chief Instruments of it, and desir'd they might be call'd to Account for their evil Practices.

While the Marechal *De Bozillon* appear'd the most forward of the discontented Lords to come to a Rupture, he privately made his Court to the Marechal *D' Ancre*, and sent an Excuse to him for his Name being incerted in the Letter, laying all the Blame of it on the Duke *De Longueville*, who had had a long Dispute with the Marechal *D' Ancre*, about the Rights of his Government of *Picardy*, which the other as Governor of *Amiens*, Capital of that Province, wou'd have invaded.

The Queen, to prevent the spreading of this Evil, caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd in the King's Name, which, among other things said to amuse the People, had one Passage in it that had its Effect, and that was, the Lords being discontented

purely for the Court's refusing them some private Advantages it was not convenient nor safe for them to grant. This being so probable as it was from the Characters of the Men, made the Prince's Friends very backward in engaging in his Quarrel; and those who were for redressing of Grievances, despairing to have their Desires accomplish'd by such interested Chiefs, lay quiet, and let them work themselves out of their Difficulties as they cou'd. Others, out of Love to the Persons of the discontented Lords, out of Dependance on their Fortunes, or out of a warm Zeal for the publick Welfare, to which they mightily pretended, join'd with them. But their Force was not sufficient to justify the Resistance, they had begun, and therefore it soon got the Scandal of Rebellion. The King commanded that no Towns should receive them, and that all Governors of Provinces should hinder the raising of Forces for the *Rebels*, as they were term'd. A sure Sign the Court did not much fear them, for then they would have made use of some softer Term; *Rebellion* being as easily turn'd into *Discontent*, as the *Rebellious* into the *Disaffected*, which is very common.

The Reform'd having a General Assembly at *Grenoble*, the Prince of *Conde* sent a Gentleman to invite them to join with him in order to procure a good Reformation of the State, in which he promis'd the Protestants all the Sureties they could reasonably expect. A considerable Part of the Assembly inclin'd towards the Junction: The Pretences the Prince us'd were so plausible, and so noble, they could hardly fail of making an Impression on People so sensible of Liberty as were the Protestants of *France*. His Highness propos'd to pass the Independence of the Crown into an Act of State; to secure the King's Person against Assassinations, Excommunications and Depositions; to revenge the too long neglected Murder of the late King; to hinder the Publication of a Council, against which the King had protested; to reduce Taxes and Impositions to reasonable Rates; to remove the excessive Authority

rity of Foreigners ; to settle the Edicts of Pacification beyond Reach, &c. These were tempting Baits, and hearken'd to by many of the Assembly, who were animated by the Intrigues of the Friends of the Mareschal *De Bauillon*. But the more moderate Part were of the same Sentiments with that good and wise Man Monsieur *Du Plessis Mornay*, which he deliver'd to some Deputies who came to take their Leave of him before their setting out for *Grenoble* : *I do not pretend, says he, to reflect upon the Prince, nor the Lords that have join'd with him. It belongs to them to justify the Uprightness of their Intentions before him who searches all Hearts ; but it does not concern our Assemblies to take any Cognizance of the Affairs of State. We ought at most to concur with his Highness for the reforming what is contrary to our Edicts, such as the Coronation Oath, such as the Reception of the Council of Trent. And 'tis probable the Assembly wou'd have follow'd his Advice, had not that of the Clergy of France, then met at Paris, alarm'd them, by resolving on a Cahier for the Reception of the Council of Trent ; and had not the Jesuits in their Sermons done their utmost to exasperate the Catholicks, and kindle a Fire, which they and the Priests were only to get by. The Court, 'tis true, were angry with the Clergy for their Cahier, not because they did not like the Wording but the Timing of it, which might prove dangerous now the Protestants were assembled at Grenoble, and the first Prince of the Blood was soliciting them to declare for a Reformation in the State, wherein they were to find so many Advantages.*

Some few Days after the King put out his Declaration, the Prince of *Conde* wrote to their Majesties, to desire Leave to send a Manifesto he had prepar'd to all the Parliaments and Corporations in the Kingdom, and to all the Princes and States in Alliance with the Crown. The Substance of it is as follows : " He complain'd of the Queen Regent's " refusing to have any Regard to the Remonstrances " he had often made her concerning her Male-Administration ;

"ministration; of the Restraint the States General
 "had been under as to Freedom of Speech; of
 "the Clergy's opposing the Independency of the
 "Monarchy; of the Mareschal *D' Ancre's* Crimes
 "and Abuses of her Majesty's Favour; of the squan-
 "dering away the Publick Money; of the Precipi-
 "tation of the King's Marriage, and the Contempt
 "of the Allies of the Crown; of the ill Usage of
 "the Parliament of *Paris* about their *Arrets* and
 "Remonstrances; of the Ground of Suspicion and
 "Distrust given to the Reform'd; of the Oath
 "taken by the Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris* to
 "receive the Council of *Trent*, &c. This Manifesto
 being sent to the Parliament, which was so favou-
 rably spoken of in it, they sent the Packets to the
 King unopen'd. The Prince took particular Care
 to have it convey'd to Monsieur *Du Plessis Mornay*;
 he sent Monsieur *Courtenai Plenan* with it and some
 private Letters. *Du Plessis* commended the Prince
 of *Conde's* Courage and Zeal, confessing there were
 great Grievances to be redress'd; but having read
 the Manifesto, he coldly ask'd *Courtenai*, Whether
 the Prince had a good Army to assert it? He added,
I am afraid all these great Designs will come to no-
thing like those of last Year. *Courtenai* answer'd, *His*
Highness is sure of 15000 Soldiers; His Majesty of
Great Britain assists him with 6000, who are already
embark'd, Prince Maurice furnishes him with 4000,
and the rest are to come out of Germany. Which I
 mention to shew how fondly those that easily deceive
 themselves with vain Hopes, think they can as easily
 deceive others; for the Troops that were embark'd
 in *England*, according to *Courtenai*, were not so
 much as rais'd or design'd to be rais'd. The King
 was not as yet gone from *Paris*, when the Prince
 dispatch'd this Gentleman to Monsieur *Du Plessis*
Mornay; who, tho' he did not join his Highness,
 thought it a favourable Juncture to sollicite the Court
 to redress the Grievances of the Protestants: *I*
have often importun'd your Majesty's Ministers, said
he, to take into serious Consideration the Complaints
of our Churches; they have refus'd hitherto to hear

me. 'Tis dangerous to wait any longer to give them Satisfaction, for fear they should be compell'd to join their Interests to those of the Prince. The King did not answer Du Plessis till he was set out from Paris; he then said, He kindly receiv'd his Remonstrance; that the Council had taken his Reasons into Consideration, but some Reasons of greater Weight had carry'd it. I have pass'd my Word, added he, and I must forthwith perform what I have promis'd to the King of Spain. The Mareschal D' Ancre was propos'd by the Duke D' Epervon and the Chancellor Sillery to command the Army that was to act against the Prince of Conde; but they afterwards considering how probable it was that the Mareschal might reconcile himself to the Prince, by means of the Mareschal De Bouillon, they so frighten'd the Queen with Apprehensions of the Relentment of the Parisians, if a Foreigner had that Trust given him, that she took it from him, and gave it to the Mareschal De Bois Dauphin, to please them, for at the Bottom she was offended that D' Ancre did not command it; and himself retiring to Amiens, contriv'd there the Ruin of those that hinder'd him of it, his Wife having such an Influence over the Queen, that the very War, which was rais'd to destroy him, turn'd to his Advantage.

The Mareschal De Lesdiguières had undertaken to have a watchful Eye on the General Assembly of the Reform'd at Grenoble, and to hinder their taking any Resolutions contrary to the Queen's Interest. The Parliament of Paris had been so mortify'd and manag'd, that there was no great Fear of them. However, to prevent their taking any Step in favour of the Prince of Conde, she resolv'd to terrify them by a Proceeding, that none of so timorous a Body shou'd have Courage to put to the Trial. Le Jay, one of the Presidents, was one of the Prince's most intimate Friends. He bore a great Sway in the Parliament, and the Court look'd upon him as the Man who had been most busy in procuring the Arret for inviting the Princes and Peers, which they were

afraid he might set a-foot again when they were gone, and to prevent it, resolv'd to secure his Person. He was therefore told his Majesty had some Thoughts to take him with him in his Progress, to have the Benefit of his good Counsel. But he mistrusted so extraordinary a Complement, and desir'd to be excus'd on account of his Health. The Court thought there was some Mystery in his Excuse, the President not being very Sickly; wherefore the Queen resolv'd to have him apprehended, and to shut him up in the Castle of *Amboise*, as soon as the Court arriv'd there. On the Day of the King's Departure, they came very early to acquaint him his Majesty wou'd speak with him. He was no sooner dress'd, and got out of his House, than two Exempts of the Guards, accompany'd with fifteen Troopers, put him into a Coach with six Horses, immediately drew up the Window, and instead of carrying him to the *Louvre*, brought him to the King's Train then going out of *Paris*. His Wife presently complain'd to the Parliament, who sent some of their Members to the *Louvre* to demand him; but their Majesties were departed. They then sent some of their Body after the Court, to know what they intended to do with Monsieur *Le Jay*. They were answer'd bluntly, To make him serviceable during the King's Progress. Here was an open Invasion of the Liberty of the Subject, no Occasion of Offence being given by the President, except in the Discharge of his Trust. But tho' Monsieur *Vassor* cries out so much against this Violence, one would think he need not have made such a wonder of it after having read so much of the *French History*.

As to the General Assembly of the Reform'd at *Grenoble*, Factions and Divisions ruin'd all the Hopes the Protestants had of that Meeting. The Duke *De Lesdiguières* was against their joining with the Prince, having a secret Correspondence with the Court. The Duke *De Bouillon* was for their joining with him, because he hop'd by that means to renew his Correspondence with the Court. The Seignior *Du Plessis Mornay* was against that Junction, be-
cause

cause he wou'd not have Religion made a Sacrifice to Politicks. The Duke *De Rohan* was first against, and afterwards for their joyning, because the Marechal *De Bouillon* was his Enemy, and because the Queen had neglected him. Thus we see that only *Du Plessis* was act'd by a Christian Spirit, and that Revenge and Ambition inspir'd all their other Counsels. The Duke *De Sully* was against or for joining the Prince, as his Son-in-Law, whom he look'd upon as the Support of his Family, was for or against it. The Protestants had so little an Opinion of the Sincerity of the Marechal *De Lesdiguières*, that he had no great Influence over their Determinations; and *Du Plessis's* solid Arguments were not strong enough for the plausible Pretences of the Prince in favour of the Reform'd. He sent Monsieur *Le Haie* to *Grenoble* with his Manifesto, and that Gentleman made a labour'd Speech at the Delivery of it, assuring them, his Highness wou'd hazard every thing for the Preservation of their Edicts; closing his Speech thus, *Such a noble Attempt as this is worthy of you: 'Tis not long since your Fathers courageously defended the Authority of our Kings, the Rights of the Princes of the Blood, and the Liberties of their Country.* But as yet the Assembly were not in a Disposition to declare for the Prince's Party; they took the wisest Course, and resolv'd to take hold of so fair an Opportunity to get their Grievances redress'd. They sent two Deputations to Court with their *Cahiers*, in which, contrary to *Du Plessis's* Advice, who being there however seconded them with his Remonstrances, they mention'd some Political Affairs, as *The Article of the Third Estate, the Spanish Match*, both very offensive to the Court, and therefore the Occasion of the Delay they met with in getting an Answer. The Queen did not care to drive them to Despair, at a time when she had Work enough upon her Hands to keep the discontented Catholicks quiet. She reply'd as to the deferring the Progress, *That had it been desir'd sooner, it might have been put off, but it was then too late to think upon it, it being impossible to retreat with*

with Honour; the Place was fix'd, the Day appointed, and they were too forward in their Journey to go back. Fair Words of no more Weight than the Wind that form'd them. Had it not been too late to go back, it wou'd have been too hasty, and the Court had had no Thoughts of it. *Du Plessis* press'd them to give a favourable Answer to the Deputies; but the Queen depending on the Assurances the Duke *De Lesdiguières* had given her of crossing the Intrigues of the Prince's Friends at *Grenoble*, and the Duke *D'Epèrnon's* to convey them safe to the Frontiers, did not much trouble themselves about the ill Consequences of neglecting the Assembly, which *Du Plessis* represented to them. That good Man had several Conferences with the Ministers, in one of which he told the Chancellor *Sillery*, If the Jesuits openly in their Sermons tell us, the Design of the double Match with Spain is to root out Heresy, why should you be surpriz'd that our Churches are alarm'd at it, and that the Memorial of the Assembly mention it? *Sillery* reply'd, Good God! must you mind every thing the Jesuits say? They do not govern the Nation. Sir, said *Du Plessis* again, They are not alarm'd at what other Monks may say, but our People believe they ought to take a particular Notice of all the Proceedings and Discourses of the Jesuits; we see them continually attending on Princes and Ministers of State; under the Colour of Religion, they insinuate their Designs and Political Views into them. Sir, You know this better than I can tell you; France has too much felt the Effects of the Advices given by Jesuits. The Assembly at *Grenoble* sent Deputies to the Prince of *Conde* as well as to the King; Monsieur *Veneville* and *Cagni* were appointed for that Commission. The former was only to make some general Complements, and return him Thanks for what *La Haie* said in his Speech. The latter was to do his utmost to sound his Highness's real Intentions, and examine whether he had Strength enough to make good his Manifesto. The Court had given the hard Name of *Rebellion* to all those that should raise Commotions in the
Pro-

Provinces, but did not particularly declare the Prince and the Lords *Rebels*, till they arriv'd at *Poitiers*. This Declaration was sent to the Parliament of *Paris*, where some Debate arose about passing it; and they might well debate whether the Proceedings of the Prince's Party were rebellious, when they had so lately in their *Arrets* and Remonstrances said as much against the Ministry as was said in his Manifesto. However that Blaze of Zeal being quickly out, the Majority voted it downright Rebellion, adding, *We shall be Accomplices our selves, if we refuse to obey the King's Will and Pleasure*. Is it any wonder that such a Body of Men should have lost all their Privileges, and from a Parliament of Senators dwindle into a Bench of Justices. All that's left of their real Power, tho' the Formality of en-registring, remain with them, hardly exceeding that of a Quarter-Sessions, except in Matters of Law and Equity. There are some Authors who represent this Affair of the Parliament more to their Reputation; That the Plurality of Voices declar'd against the Verification of the King's Declaration; That a Decree was made upon it, by which that Court declar'd, that they *neither could nor ought* to register it; That the Party in the Interest of the Ministry caus'd the Words *nor ought* to be omitted out of the Extracts of the Decree which was publish'd; and soon after had Credit enough to forge another Decree of Inrollment without any Exception, which was found in the Register in the room of the first. *We may easily imagine*, says a credible Historian, *that this bold Falsification of a solemn Decree, in a Case of such Consequence, was highly resented: It created great Disputes among the Members of the Parliament, who proceeded on both Sides to Invectives and Protestations*. The Prince's Resentment was not without Reason, and it is said in the Preliminaries of the Treaty of Peace, he demanded that those who were concern'd in the Falsifications of the Decree should be punish'd. The Truth is, the Prince of *Conde's* Army gave no great Encouragement to any one to join it. He could only raise a small Body, which

which happily escap'd the Pursuit of the Marechal *De Bois Dauphin*, who might have easily dispers'd it: Whether he omitted it out of Negligence or Design, the Court was so displeas'd, that they gave his Command to another. The Duke of *Rohan* had been powerfully solicited to take up Arms, but he stood out even after his Brother the Duke of *Soubize* had join'd the Prince. This Junction facilitated the other; *Soubize* being a Man of Intrigue, zealous for his Religion and belov'd by his Brother. Notwithstanding which and the Security that was propos'd by the Prince for the Protestant Churches, *Rohan* was for Pacifick Measures, in Opposition to the Marechal *De Bouillon*, 'till pressing her Majesty to grant him the Survivorship of the Government of *Poitou*, held by his Father in-Law *Sully*, and being refus'd, he openly declar'd for the Prince, and engag'd to join the Count *De St. Pol* in *Guyenne* with 6000 Foot and 500 Horse; which if he could have done, a Stop had been put to the Progress of the Court, and to the double Match. But instead of this the Count *De St. Pol* deserted the Party, at the Perswasion of his Wife, a bigotted Papist, and *Rohan's* Friends cou'd not raise above 2500 Men. By which Means the Court continu'd their Progress uninterrupted to *Bordeaux*. The Assembly at *Grenoble* were dilatory in their Proceedings, occasion'd by the Awe the Marechal *De Lesdisguieres* had over them; for which Reason those that wish'd well to their Junction with the Prince, propos'd to remove their Session to another Place, and the Major Vote carry'd it for *Nismes*. *Lesdisguieres* knowing their Removal would lose him the Merit of managing them with the Court. oppos'd it in a set Speech; and finding his Arguments wou'd not prevail, he had Recourse to Violence, and shut the Gates. Monsieur *Chaufepie*, one of the Deputies for the Province of *Poitou*, was stop'd as he was going out only to take the Air; which put the Assembly into such a Ferment, that the Marechal doubting his own Power against that of the whole Body of the Protestants of *France*, who wou'd certainly have

have highly resent'd the Affront offer'd their General Assembly, order'd the Gates to be open'd, and permitted the Members to depart. The Session being remov'd to *Nismes*, all their Acts were look'd upon by *Du Plessis Mornay* and the moderate Protestants as Nullities; the King's Writ not warranting them to meet there. The Deputies that were sent to Court for his Majesty's Permission, cou'd procure none for any other Place except *Montpelier*, where the Duke *De Charillon*, who, tho' a Protestant, was as much in the Court Interest as *Lesdesguieres*, was Governour. This City the Assembly did not like, and insisting still on *Nismes*, the Queen seem'd passive in the matter, reserving a Pretence at any time to call their Meeting Seditious, or to approve of it, as their Conduct pleas'd or displeas'd her.

What help'd to determine the Assembly to declare for the Prince, was an Accident that astonish'd all France, and that was the Conversion of the Duke *De Candale*, a Son of the Duke *D' Epernon*, the greatest Enemy of the Reform'd in France; and as all New Converts are most Zealous, so this Lord did not give over his Instances, till he prevail'd with them to unite with the Prince of *Conde*. 'Tis true the Duke did renounce the Catholick Religion, but it was only out of Despight, Conviction had no Share in it: His Father had procur'd his younger Brother the Survivorship of the Post of Colonel General of the Infantry, and refus'd him himself some Governments that were at his Disposal. He thought no Revenge cou'd be so effectual, as that of his embracing a Religion his Father abhor'd more than any Man; and tho' his Conversion was all Grimace, the Protestants fond of so illustrious a Convert, were willing to believe it sincere, and to trust him accordingly. They thought they could not do too much to confirm him in their Interests, and to oblige him, comply'd with those Counsels which he propos'd to them; the Consequence of which was a Treaty of Union between the Assembly and the Prince, carry'd by two Voices only. The Court acted

acted very prudently on this Occasion, and publishing a Declaration, distinguish'd between the Loyal Protestants of *France*, and those of the Assembly at *Nismes* and their Adherents; for in the Declaration 'twas said, *an infinite Number of the Reform'd remain'd faithful*. And this Distinction had the intended Effect; the Protestants in general did not look upon the Union of the Assembly at *Nismes* with the Prince as any thing but a State Quarrel, and therefore the Major Part of them stood Neuter. The Protestant Lords of the Prince's Party could engage none but their Creatures. Several entire Provinces, and almost all their Cities, refus'd to take Arms; and this Commotion being much more Catholick than Protestant, the Resistance it was accus'd of is not to be laid to the *Hugonots*, but to the *French* Papiſts, of whom none was more a Bigot than the Head of it, the Prince of *Condé* himself.

We must not forget that the King, in the before-mention'd Declaration, publish'd upon the Union of the Assembly at *Nismes* with the Prince, expresses again his Opinion as to compelling Consciences in Religious Matters: *We firmly believe, says he, that Differences about Religion ought to be left to the Decision of God alone.*

Let this be a Lesson to you the Enemies of Moderation all over the Christian World, a King of *France*, Father of the King now reigning, teaches it to you; one who had for his Mother an *Italian*, for his Wife a *Spanish* Bigot, who was environ'd with Popish Counsellors and Priests. He once more assures the Protestants, *He will INVIOLABLY observe the Edict of Nantz, and all other Edicts made in Consequence of it.*

The Prince's Party was now become pretty considerable. The Duke *De Nevers*, who had rais'd Men without declaring himself, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, the King's natural Brother, join'd them. The City of *Rochelle* declar'd for the Prince; and had not the Exchange of the Princesses of *Spain* and *France* destroy'd all manner of Hopes of preventing the
double

double Marriage, it is probable the Peace wou'd not have been so soon concluded.

The Queen remembering the Advice formerly given her by the Duke of *Rohan* to break the League of the Prince of *Conde*, as *Lewis XI.* did that of the *Publick Good*, by gaining over the Chiefs of it one after another, resolv'd to put it in Practice, as the surest and quickest way to extricate her self and her Friends out of these Difficulties. The first she apply'd to was the Duke of *Mayenne*, who hating the Reform'd, she suppos'd wou'd be the most ready to quit a Party, in the Success of which they propos'd to themselves so many Advantages. This Duke accordingly being secur'd in his Governments, hearken'd to the Proposals that were made to him, and enclin'd to a Treaty. The next she sounded upon it was the Duke *De Bouillon*, who enter'd into the War only to shew he cou'd end as well as begin it, and thus let the Government see he was not to be neglected. A lucky Accident happen'd to bring the Prince himself into pacifick Measures, and that was the Arrival of *Edmonds* the *English* Ambassador, with Instructions to offer his Mediation between the King and the Prince.

We have already mention'd the great Expectations his Highness pretended to have from the Assistance of King *James I.* of *England*; whereas in Truth he knew that King had refus'd to assist him in any thing but in his Mediation. *God forbid*, said that King to the Marquis *De Bonneval*, the Prince's Envoy, *I shou'd break the Peace and good Correspondence there is between the French King and me! As I have nothing more at Heart than the Preservation of the Peace in my own Kingdoms, I wou'd be glad to procure the same Happiness to my Neighbours. All I can do for the Prince of Conde is to offer him my good Offices and Endeavours to reconcile him with the King his near Relation.*

Edmond's offering this Mediation, the Court readily accepted of it in Appearance; but however when the Treaty was set on Foot, the *French King* assum'd other Airs, and said he wou'd give Peace to his Subjects

jects without any one's Intervention. The Prince of *Conde*, the *Mareschal De Bouillon*, and the Assembly at *Nismes*, insisting on *Edmonds's* being present at the Conferences for Peace, it was allow'd as a *Witness* only. *Loudon* was appointed for the Place of Treaty, and the Conferences carry'd on with great Formality, tho' the Chiefs of the Party had made their Peace with the Court privately, each as he thought most for his Advantage. The Prince seem'd to stickle on Behalf of the General Assembly of the Reform'd, who sent Deputies to make their Submission, and some Articles were agreed to in their Favour, but such as the Court cou'd not hinder them of.

The Conferences open'd on the 10th of *February*, 1616. The King's Commissioners were,

The Countess of <i>Soissons</i> ,	
The Duke <i>De Nevers</i> ,	
The <i>Mareschal De Brisac</i> ,	
Monsieur <i>De Villeroy</i> ,	} Secretaries of State,
Monsieur <i>Pontchartrain</i> ,	
Monsieur <i>De Thou</i> ,	President of the Parlia-
ment of <i>Paris</i> ,	
Monsieur <i>De Vic</i> ,	Counsellor of State.

For the Prince of *Conde* appear'd,
 The Duke *De Mayenne*,
 The Duke *De Vendosme*,
 The Duke *De Longueville*,
 The Duke *De Rohan*,
 The Duke *De Luxembourg*,
 The Duke *De Tremouille*,
 The Duke *De Sully*,
 The Duke *De Candale*,
 The *Mareschal De Bouillon*.

Besides these great Lords, the Prince came in Person to *Loudon*, accompany'd with his Mother the Princess Dowager of *Longueville*, and the Deputies of the General Assembly of the Reform'd Churches. I shall not enter into the detail of this Treaty, which

which may be found at large in the Histories of France, but observe only some things that their Historians durst not mention.

Villeroy, in order to dispose the Prince to Peace, flatter'd him with having the chief Management of State-Affairs; that he shou'd turn out and put in whom he pleas'd; which being the main thing he aim'd at, his Highness gave into it immediately, and resolv'd to conclude the Peace; all that was done afterwards for the Lords who join'd him, or the Reform'd Churches, being to save Appearances. The first Sacrifice the Queen made to him, was that of her fast Friend the Proud Duke of *Epernon*, who had to his great Impatience born several Slights from her, by the Procurement of the Marechal *D'Ancre*, who hated that Duke for not paying the Respect he thought due to his Wife's Favour. The last Affront drove him from Court, depriving him, at the Prince's Request, of the Disposal of the Posts of Colonel and Captains of the Regiment of Life-Guards, which had always been taken to be a Perquisite of his Post of Colonel-General of the Foot. He cou'd not bear Attendance after such a Disgrace, and took his Leave of both King and Queen in such a manner, as shew'd, he thought, they wou'd want him before he wanted them. His Retirement remov'd a powerful Rival of *Conchini's*, and made way for his rising higher in Favour after than before the Rupture; tho' that was the main Occasion of it.

The Chancellor *Silleri* had been devoted to the Will of the Regent, and stuck at nothing to keep in his Office. He was a Man of mean Parts, and generally thought unfit for it. His Conduct had created him Enemies on all sides. The Marechal *D'Ancre* did not love him; because being an old Minister he pretended to some Preference of him in the Ministry on that Account. The Prince hated him for being a Tool to all the Queen's Favourites. *Silleri* finding the Treaty of *Loudon* was not likely to break off, fancy'd he might secure himself in his Post, by offering his Service to the Prince of

Conde, to the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, and other Lords of that Party, on Condition he shou'd by an Article of that Treaty, be continu'd in his Employment. A shameful Instance of the Meanness of his Capacity, to flatter himself that those Lords wou'd so expose themselves, as to insist on the continuing a Man in an Office by a particular Article of Peace, when the removing him was one of the Articles of the War.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Duke *de Bouillon* made themselves merry with *Villeroy*, on the Chancellor's Folly. The Secretary got his Collegue, *Pontchartrain*, to tell the Queen Mother of it, and she told *Bassompierre*, who being one of the frankest Persons at Court, desir'd her leave to tell *Sillery* the ill Offices his Enemies had done him to her Majesty, it being *Bassompierre's* Character to serve every Body if he cou'd, that every Body might serve him. The Queen, weary of the Chancellor, permitted him to load him with so much Shame, as the discovering to him his Plot must bring upon him. The Chancellor was so silly as to imagine *Bassompierre* had himself told the Queen of a Project he cou'd not have known, but from the Persons *Sillery* had inform'd of it. *I am mightily oblig'd to you, Sir, for the Information you have given me*, said the Chancellor to *Bassompierre*, in the Queen's Chamber, *but some wou'd fain persuade me it was from your self the Queen receiv'd the Intelligence you have now told me, tho' I will not believe it.* Sir, reply'd *Bassompierre* very briskly, *I shall shortly convince you I am not so bad a Man as you are pleas'd to suppose me to be; the Queen will tell you herself who wrote to her the News which you imagine to be of my own Contrivance.* Upon this *Sillery* conjur'd *Bassompierre*, in the most humble and pressing manner, not to insist further on the Business, but to keep it private from the Queen Mother. *You will ruin me, Sir*, said the Chancellor, *and therefore take Pity of a Man whom you know but too many already endeavour to undo, after so long Services.* For all that,

that, *Bassompierre* acquainted her Majesty with the Chancellor's Distrust of him, and the Queen said to *Sillery*, with a scornful Smile, *Methinks, Monsieur Chancellor, you make but small Returns to Bassompierre for the Services he endeavour'd to do you, know then that this Business comes from Bouillon, who communicated it to Pontchartrain.* What Confusion must the Old Fox, as he took himself to be, shew on this Occasion, all he cou'd answer was, *Madam, the Marechal de Bouillon has been this long time my profess'd Enemy, I most humbly beseech your Majesty, not to give any Credit to what he has caus'd to be written to you, with a Design to ruin me.* This poor Evasion made him a Jest to the whole Court, and every Body afterwards look'd upon him as a Lost Man there.

During the Conferences at *London*, the General Assembly of the Protestants were remov'd by the King's Writ to *Rochelle*, which made them without Dispute, a Lawful Assembly. They had Ten Deputies at *London*, to take care of their Interests, but it was rather to be Witnesses of the Prince of *Conde's* Signing the Peace, than to procure advantageous Terms for the Reform'd. The Dukes de *Mayenne* and de *Bouillon*, having receiv'd Satisfaction as to their Demands, the Prince was not very solicitous to satisfy either the Assembly or the other Lords: He sent for the Duke de *Sully*, who seem'd most concern'd for the Interests of the Reform'd, and *Villeroy* who had shewn a great Complacency to his Highness during the Treaty. He whisper'd something to the latter, and soon after did the same to the former: He then declar'd *Villeroy* had granted what was desir'd, and taking Pen in Hand, Sign'd the Treaty, without allowing any Body Time to answer him: This abrupt Conclusion vext the Deputies heartily, but there was no remedy for it. They discover'd by several Passages, 'twas a design'd thing to pay 'em thus for the Services they had done the Prince in declaring for him; and that they wou'd be forc'd to accept of the Conditions the Lords had

thought fit to demand for them. They desir'd only to Sit till their Edict was verif'd, which was deny'd; instead of it, they had a Time prefix'd for the Duration of their Session, after the Conclusion of the Treaty. Before they had set their Names to it, Orders were sent to the Minister of London who was in his Pulpit, to acquaint the People the Peace was made, and to exhort them to return God Thanks for it. Here's a Peace which they do not at all approve of, which leaves them more expos'd to the Power and Rage of their Enemies, yet they must not only submit to it, but give God Thanks for it. The Author of the History of the Edict of Nantz, writes on this Subject. *This made those murmur who knew there were Difficulties undecided, and made them judge it was a forc'd Peace, which they were oblig'd to accept of, for fear of falling into greater Inconveniencies. What shall they do, they are deserted by their Protectors. The Duke de Bouillon, who was the Chief Author of the War, forgot the Interests of the Common Cause, says the same Historian, because he had secur'd his own. He exclaim'd higher than any Body against the Assembly, tho' they had only follow'd his Motions. He declar'd he wou'd look upon those to be Enemies to the State, who shou'd refuse to Sign the Peace. Is there any Story extant, wherein a League was so shamefully dissolv'd, wherein the Head is for Warring with the Members, because they look to themselves, and do not like the Peace he likes. Nay, Bouillon was accus'd of having engag'd himself to the King's Commissioners, by Writing, to march against the Assembly, and to make War against them, in case they shou'd offer to continue their Session longer than the King allow'd them by this Treaty. Good God! Was he not of the same Religion, were not their Interests inseparable? If the Assembly was ruin'd, must not his Ruin soon follow? What Madness, what Infatuation, Oh, the Fatal Power of Interest, the accurst Effects of Ambition, in Minds insensible of*

of their Duties to their Religion and their Country. *Bouillon* caus'd his Nephew the young Duke *de Tremouille*, to enter into the same Engagements, but the Assembly gave them no ground to proceed to such Extremities against them: They submitted to the Treaty, Nominated Deputies General, and *Bertheville*, to whom the *Mareschal de Bouillon* had given hopes of obtaining that Deputation, was Elected according to his Promise.

The Edict for the Publication of this Peace, was call'd the Pacification of *Blois*, and in it some small Favours were granted the Reform'd, as a New Office in the Parliament of *Paris*, and another in the Chamber of Accompts, one of the most considerable Courts of the Long Robe. The Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Party, were to have 1500000 Livres, which makes the Peace a Purchase of the Crown, tho' they had doubtless as Loyal Divines as any in the World, to deter People from Resistance, and Establish the Orthodox Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. We shall see how they were practis'd again a few Months after, and it cannot but be matter of Consolation to us, that of all Nations upon Earth, we are that which professes them in the utmost extent of them; and it is great pity we have so many Instances of Nature rebelling against Principle, and of our Practices contradicting our Professions.

The *Mareschal D' Ancre* had the Satisfaction to see a Confederacy broken that was form'd for his Destruction, and that he gain'd Ground in the Favour of his Mistress; yet all that Satisfaction was sow'd by the Hatred which he saw increase daily in the People to him and his Family. When he first enter'd into the Queen's Service, he was 8000 Crowns worse than nothing, and in a few Years he was become worth some Millions. His Insolence was as boundless as his Wealth, and for a long time he thought there wou'd be no end of his Ministry. But alas, what are the Foundations upon which such Favourites Build, Sandy and

Light, which the first Tumultuous Storm tears to Pieces. He was at *Paris* while the Conferences were held at *Loudon*, and notwithstanding there was a Suspension of Arms, the Parisians still kept a Guard at their Gates.

The Mareschal *D' Ancre* having Occasion to go out of the City, came to one of them, where a certain Shoemaker, nam'd *Picard*, kept Guard; the Fellow stopt his Coach, and demanded his Pass, the Mareschal in a Passion, commanded his Coach Man to drive on, at which the Guard presented their Halberts and Musquets, and set them to their Breasts. *Conchini* putting his Head out of the Coach, said to the Shoemaker, *You Rogue, do you know who I am? Yes, very well*, answer'd *Picard*, in a haughty disdainful manner, *however you shall not go, unless you shew me your Pass*. During this Dispute, the Mob gather'd about them, and *Conchini* fearing something worse, sent some of his Servants to the Person who had the Command of the Guard, for an Order that he might go out, resolving to be reveng'd of *Picard* when the King return'd. Accordingly he order'd his Gentleman of the Horse, to take Two of his Servants, and give *Picard* the Shoemaker a thorough Thrashing, which was so well put in Execution, that the poor Man was left almost Dead upon the Spot. The Mareschal's Servants relying too much on their Master's Credit, did not run away for it, and being taken, were Try'd, Condemn'd and Hang'd a few Days after, before *Picard's* House. Their Master was forc'd to pay a round Sum to *Picard*, or his Gentleman of the Horse wou'd have had the same Fate. *Conchini* then saw his Felicity in *France* was drawing to an end, and wou'd fain have perswaded *Galigai* his Wife, to fly to *Italy* in time, offering to buy the Dutchy of *Ferrara* of the Pope for their Joint Lives; but *Galigai* had more Courage, or less Foresight, and wou'd not leave *Mary de Medicis*, *Conchini* cou'd not handsomely desert his Wife, by whose Favour he had acquir'd his own, and made such an envy'd Fortune.

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The Danger he was in was not Visionary, he had propos'd to enter into Engagements with the Dukes *de Mayenne* and *de Bouillon*, to ruin the Dukes *de Epernon* and *de Bellegard*, which they were so far from hearkning to, that having told the Duke of *Guise* of his Proposals, that Duke joyn'd with them in a Conspiracy to destroy the Marechal, and there was no end of this Confederacy, till they had accomplish'd it.

The Parisians bore such an Hatred to *D' Ancre*, that he was afraid to enter the City, after the Return of the Prince of *Conde*, whom he was impatient to wait upon, to put himself under his Protection, as the Queen had desir'd his Highness. He therefore wrote to *Bassompierre*, to send a Guard of Horse to meet him, which was done; and tho he had a Convoy of an Hundred Horse, *Picard* become now one of his most dangerous Enemies, insulted him, and endeavour'd to raise the Mob, who being afraid of the Troopers, lay still at that time. 'Tis worth observing what Mischief an inconsiderable Fellow as this Shoemaker was, is capable of doing, when once the Rabble have Lifted themselves under him.

The daring Boldness of *Picard*, acquir'd him such a Reputation with the Populace, that he was look'd upon immediately as their Chief, and the greatest Lords did not disdain to make their Court to him. Honesty or Parts are not necessary to qualify a Man to Head the Rabble; Impudence and a Lucky Event are enough to draw the Rabble after him, and when once that's done, Faction and Curiosity will always gather a Crowd about him. I know a Man exactly of the Importance of this Shoemaker, but for his Profession sake I shall say no more of him.

The Prince of *Conde* had given *Mary de Medicis* a sort of an Assurance, that he wou'd be the Marechal's Protector, but the Lords Confederated against him, soon dissuaded him from it. They met several times late at Night, but were so divided in their Opinions, that they met to no pur-

pose, some were for presenting a Petition to the Parliament to Try him, others, as particularly the Duke de Mayenne, who offer'd to do it himself if the Prince wou'd be present, for running him thro' the Body. The Prince at one of their Meetings, said, *They had more need study how to remove Mary de Medicis herself from the Administration*, at which saying, all the Lords present, pull'd off their Hats, in token of Applause, except the Duke of Guise, who cry'd, *God forbid I shou'd involve Her Majesty in the Plot now on Foot for ruining the Marechal D'Ancre*, which creating in the Prince a Jealousy of Guise, he sent for Barbin, one of Conchini's Creatures, who had a Place in the Treasury, told him something of the Conspiracy, and promis'd to Protect the Marechal, which he did not long after, when the Prince gave an Entertainment to the Earl of Carlisle, the English Ambassador, who came to propose a Marriage between the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Christina, Sister to Lewis the XIIIth. At this Entertainment, were present Conchini's Enemies, and the Marechal himself, either out of Insolence, to shew he was not afraid of them, or out of Security, to let 'em see the Prince was his Protector, wou'd needs go to his Palace at that Instant. When they heard he was coming up to them, the Lords remonstrated to the Prince, they ought not to let so fair an Opportunity slip to put in Execution the Design they had taken of ridding themselves of an Insolent Stranger, who came attended by Thirty Gentlemen on purpose to brave and affront them. Conde generously excus'd himself from Violating the Sacred Rights of Hospitality: *Such an Action*, said he, *shall never be committed in my House, you may find our Opportunities enough to Murther Conchini*. While they were thus discoursing, the Marechal D'Ancre enter'd the Hall, where the Entertainment was given, and spoke a while with the Prince in Private. When he took his Leave of him, his Enemies set themselves to look scornfully at him,

he return'd Look for Look, Scorn for Scorn, wanting neither Pride nor Arrogance.

All the Histories of *France* represent this Man as a Rapacious, Cruel, Arrogant, False *Italian*, tho' in Truth his Country was his greatest Crime. The next Reigning Favourite, a *French* Man, outdid him in all his Vices, and had not one of his Vertues. *D'Ancre* had Courage, Wit, a Frankness of Temper to his Friends, which was as agreeable, as his Imperious Carriage to his Enemies was shocking. If he was False, he had done well to have added Diffimulation to it. But there is something in a Man's Complexion, something in the Blood that will not admit of Cunning in certain Cases, wherein the Heart will always be too strong for the Head.

The Prince of *Conde* sent the Arch-Bishop of *Ambrun* to *Conchini* the next Day, to let him know the Peril he had been in, and to advise him to be gone to his Government of *Normandy*. *D'Ancre* follow'd his Advice, but laid such a Train before he went, not only for the Lords, but for the Prince also, as blew them all up in his Absence, tho' in the end it blew himself up with them, and made way for a New Scene, and New Actors at Court.

The Power of the Lords was such at this time, that on the first Disgust they wou'd take Arms and Right themselves, as the Duke of *Longueville* did in his Government of *Picardy*, possessing himself of *Albeville* and *Peronne*, which were part of *D'Ancre's* Command, and keeping them notwithstanding the Remonstrances and Menaces of the Court. The Queen Mother and her Confidants, knew it was the Protection of the Prince that encourag'd the Discontented Lords to behave themselves thus; they call'd to Mind a saying of *Villeroy's*, who with *Jeannin* had lost his Employment as well as *Sillery*, upon the Princes Demand of holding the Pen at the Council Table, which is in effect to be at the Head of the Ministry, and Sign all Orders relating to the Finances, &c.

Villeroy

Villeroy told her, *She need not be afraid to put the Pen into the Hand of a Man whose Arm she might hold whenever she pleas'd.* This made her come to a Vigorous Resolution, at the Instance of *Barbin*, Comptroller of the Finances, a Creature of *Conchini*, to seize the Prince's Person. There was a Russian-like Officer attending at Court, who wanted to be employ'd in some desperate Attempt to distinguish himself. This was *Themines*, he did not stay to be ask'd, He desir'd *Barbin*, *That if any thing Important and Dangerous was to be put in Execution, he wou'd be so much his Friend, as to perswade Her Majesty to make use of him in it, for he wou'd Sacrifice his Life for her Service.* This Man *Barbin* recommended to the Queen as one very fit to have the Execution of Her Orders for seizing the Person of the Prince of *Conde*, a Step she durst not take till she had Sworn all her Chief Ministers and Servants to be True to her. She consulted all her Confidants about it, and particularly *Bassompierre*, who exaggerated the Power of the Prince as greater than her own, with his usual Freedom, and seem'd to blame her Negligence. *Do not you fancy that I am so much Asleep,* reply'd the Queen, *but some Businessses require a great deal of Time before they be dispatch'd; serve me well, and do not let the Ladies perswade you to do any thing prejudicial to my Interest.* The last Part of his Reply has Reference to his Gallantry with the Princess of *Conde*, who had fallen out with *Galigai*, and *Bassompierre* having an Amour with her, the Queen was afraid she might prevail on him to fall in with the Party she openly espous'd, that of the Duke her Brother, and the Discontented Lords.

By the *Mémoires* which some French Lords and Gentlemen have left of themselves, one wou'd think no Nation in the World ever produc'd Men of so much Gallantry, Courage, Wit, Capacity, in a word, so finish'd as the French. If you look into those of *Bassompierre*, you will find in it such an Image, as a Man who cou'd Paint well, and lov'd himself

himself to a Fondness, wou'd make of his own Picture! Every good Feature is plac'd in the best Light, all the Blemishes so well touch'd, that they are rather like the Patches the Ladies stick on their Faces to set off their Beauty. When they are writing their own Lives in their Closets, they can make what they please of themselves; every thing they do is important; their most Trivial Actions are set off as Heroick or Gallant Adventures, and their Campaigns are as so many Triumphs. What they said naturally and in Conversation, has all the Advantages of Art and Rhetorick to Adorn it; and what is said to them, is only to shew their Merit or their Bravery. There is no trusting to the best of them, with a little History there's a great deal of Romance, and what History there is, is so introduc'd, that it often has another Effect than the plain Truth wou'd have. The Duke of *Rohan* is not Guiltless in this Point, and one shall not from one end of his Memoirs to the other, find out that his Jealousy of *Bouillon*, and his Resentment for the Loss of the Government of *Poitou*, were the Springs that acted him in those Parts of his Life, where the Patriot and the Protestant shine the brightest.

The Mareschal D' *Ancre* wou'd have had the Queen to have order'd *Themines* to have seiz'd the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke de *Mayenne*, the Duke de *Bouillon*, and the Duke de *Vendome* altogether, but she was afraid the Parisians wou'd rise, and she had not secur'd her Treasure when they came together one Day to the *Louvre*, so the seizing the Prince was defer'd till her Strong Box and Jewels were safe. The Dukes de *Mayenne* and de *Bouillon*, had observ'd some extraordinary Motion while they were there, and suspecting Mischief, resolv'd to keep out of the way. They advis'd the Prince to do so too, but he did not think himself in so much Danger as they, saying, *It signify'd nothing to him whether the Mareschal de Bouillon was sent to the Bastile or not.* Bouillon like a good *Hugonot*, went to *Charenton*, attended
by

by several of his Friends, and some Soldiers of his Guards. The Duke *de Mayenne* was upon the Watch, preparing every thing to leave *Paris*. The Prince Two Days after, the First of *Septemb. 1616*, went in great State and Security to the Council, *Mary de Medicis* having been up before Three a Clock in the Morning, to order Matters for his Apprehension, and her Flight if the *Parisians* rose upon it. The Prince was mightily pleas'd to see the Court that was made to him that Day, and the Queen beheld with a Scornful Indignation, the vast Number of Petitions that were presented him, saying to *Bassompierre*, *Here's now the King of France, but his Royalty should be like that of the Bean, it will not continue long.* The Duke *de Mayenne* had his Spies about the *Louvre*, and they gave him Information that something more than ordinary was in Agitation. The Duke sent Monsieur *Strange* to acquaint the Prince of it, and advise him by all means not to go to the *Louvre*, but he was gone when *Strange* came. The latter follow'd him, and waited for him at the Door of the Council Chamber; his Highness coming out, he told him what Message he had from the Duke *de Mayenne*: The Prince reply'd, *If such a Resolution to apprehend me be taken, I cannot now get off.* He was then going to the Queen's Chamber, Two of the Guards *du Corps* set as Two Extraordinary Centinels at the Door, convinc'd him that what had been told him, was but too True. However, he went in, and the Young King, who, says Monsieur *Vassor*, *had been carefully brought up in the Art of Dissimulation*, invited him to go a Hunting with him. The Prince desir'd his Majesty at that time to excuse him: If he had gone a Hunting, he had been seiz'd and secur'd before the *Parisians* had known any thing of the matter. The King then went to his Mother, who was in her Closet, and *Themines* coming up to the Prince with his Two Sons, Arrested him in the King's Name. As much as the Duke *de Mayenne* had prepar'd him for this Accident, it surpriz'd him: *My Lord*, said *Themines* to him in a very respectful

respectful manner, *The King having been certainly inform'd that you hearken to bad Council, and such as is prejudicial to his Service, and that some Persons have been tampering to gain you over to a Faction which is both contrary to the Peace of the Kingdom, as well as your own Quality; his Majesty has order'd me to secure your Person, for fear you shou'd fall into some worse Snares. Who I,* answer'd the Prince in a sort of Amazement, *Yes, your self my Lord,* reply'd *Themines,* his Son at the same time coming up on each side of his Highness, who said *You know very well I am the First Prince of the Blood. Themines* answer'd, *I know my Lord the respect that is due to you, but I must Obey the King.* How cou'd one read this Story, without envying the Happiness of that Constitution, where the doing any thing Illegal, Cruel and Unjust, is so easily excus'd, as by saying, *I must Obey the King.* What Charge was there brought against the Prince of Conde, since the Peace of Loudon? What Proof of his being Guilty of a Crime deserving Imprisonment? The Prince demanded to see Her Majesty, but to no purpose: *Themines* ask'd him boldly, *Whether he wou'd please to go where the King had order'd him to conduct him?* His Highness in a great Passion turn'd about to the Persons in the Queen's Chamber, saying, *Is there no Body that has the Courage to declare himself in my behalf;* and perceiving *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Great Seals, he said to him, *Sir, I know you are a Man of Honour, have you advis'd them thus to break the Solemn Promises they have so often made me?* *Du Vair*, Generously answer'd, *They have not consulted me in this Matter, I shall be for their speedy repairing the wrong Measures they have taken for the shortest Follies are the best.* As *Themines* was carrying the Prince to the Place prepar'd for the keeping him, his Highness seeing *Delbene*, attended by a great Number of Halberdiers, seem'd apprehensive lest they shou'd make some Attempt on his Life; but *Delbene* told him, *Those whom he saw there, were Gentlemen and not Assassins.* Gentlemen,

Was

Was not *Vitry*, Captain of the Guard, a Gentleman, and yet before a Year is over, we shall find him an Assassin? The Princess of *Conde* hearing her Husband was Arrested, try'd all Means to raise the Parisians. *To Arms, To Arms*, she and her Friends cry'd, *the Mareschal D' Ancre is Murdering the First Prince of the Blood at the Louvre*; but the Citizens were content with shutting up their Shops. Such sort of Men are apt to talk loud when no Action is necessary, but are Tame enough when it is. The Rabble however fell upon the Mareschal's House, and gutted it to his Damage above 200000 Crowns. The first of the Lords, *Conchini's* Enemies, that fled, was the Duke de *Vendome*, then follow the Duke de *Guise*, the Duke de *Mayenne*, the Mareschal de *Bouillon*. The two latter would have Headed the Parisians, and to that purpose sent word to *Picard* the Shoemaker, who was become a Person of Importance, that in Case he would raise the Mob, they would stand by him with 500 Horse. The Shoemaker did his Endeavours, but the Guards were out, and the Rabble will never venture, when those that send 'em are in Earnest. An early Check soon disperses them, and when they are suffer'd to grow upon it, 'tis with Design in those that could hinder it.

The Duke de *Nevers* joyn'd in with this Party afterwards, as did also the Duke de *Chevreuse* and the Cardinal of *Guise*, who, on the Desertion of the Duke of that Name, was offer'd to be acknowledged the Head of this New League, for the Deliverance of the Prince, and the Destruction of *D' Ancre*. The Cardinal marry'd privately an Old Mistress of *Henry* the IVth, and had several Children by her, which was enough to assure the Lords that tho' he was Arch-Bishop of *Rheimes*, he would make no Scruple of accepting a Military Command as well as a Spiritual, but there was no Occasion for it. The Duke de *Guise* leaving the Lords by the Intrigues of the Queen Mother and his Wife, the League against *Conchini* was in
appear;

appearance broken, and his Enemies accepted the Terms offer'd by the Court, in hopes to gain Time for the raising an Army strong enough to make Head against the King's, which approach'd very near them.

The Duke *de Guise* had appear'd one of the most violent Enemies of *Conchini*, and yet he first made his Peace with the Queen. This Impotent Attempt to ruin *D' Ancre*, seem'd the most likely to Establish him; yet we shall see in a few Months, that the first Step *Mary de Medicis* took towards securing her Authority, by seizing the Prince, was the first towards destroying it for ever. From hence wou'd many Grave Historians reason on the Uncertainty of Affairs of State, and the Sandy Foundation of Worldly Grandeur; but till People can see into Futurity, Things will perpetually happen which Humane Foresight cannot reach, nor Humane Prudence prevent, as well in all other Affairs, as those of the State.

The Duke *de Guise* when he return'd to Court, did indeed sollicite with some Earnestness to procure better Terms for the Lords than the Court wou'd give them, and spoke also for the Prince's Liberty; but to shew him and the Lords that they must depend entirely on the King's good Pleasure, for every thing that related to his Highness, he was remov'd from his Confinement in the *Louvre* to the *Bastile*, the very Day that the Duke *de Guise* came back to *Paris*. A Declaration to justify the Imprisonment of the Prince, was carry'd by the King in Person to the Parliament, to be verify'd. With his Majesty went the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Orleans*, her Son, and the Princesses *Christina*, *Henrietta Maria*, Daughters of *France*; several Princesses, Three Ecclesiastical Peers, the Dukes *de Montmerency*, *de Uzes*, *Retz*, *Rohan*, *Sulli*, the Marechal *de Brisac*, the Marechal *de Souvre*, and the Man who did that brave Action. as to seize the Prince of *Conde*, for which he had the Baroon given him, the Marechal *Themines*.

It was with Indignation, that all Honest Men heard so many wicked Crime laid to the Prince's Charge, and it was observable that *DuVair*, Keeper of the Seals, was so ashamed of it, that in his Speech he affected to say frequently, *I am order'd to speak thus*, which the Queen took so ill, that she resolv'd not to be troubled long with a Man of too much Probity. All the Favour their Majesties would allow the Prince, was the Company of his Wife, who shut herself up with her Husband in the *Bastille*, from whence some time after, they were convey'd to *Boys de Vincennes*.

I wou'd fain be inform'd what wonderful Change has happen'd in the Constitution of *France* within these Hundred Years, that the Great Lords have lost all their Rights and Privileges, which are all sunk in the *Pleasure of the Crown*. Did *Lewis* the XIIIth and his Successor make a Conquest of them, or were those pretended Rights and Privileges only the Pretences of those Lords taking advantage of a Minority, or what's worse, a weak Reign. Be it as it will, they did not now ask leave to take Arms; for while the Lords, Enemies to *Conchini*, were Arming in *Picardy*, another League was form'd in the Southern Parts of *France* by the Duke de *Epernon*, the Duke de *Lesdisguieres*, the Duke de *Montmerency*, and the Duke de *Belleguarde*, who, without entring into the Confederacy of the other Lords, *Conchini's* Enemies, many of whom hated *Epernon* as much as *D'Ancre*, united among themselves for their mutual Support, and having a large Extent of Country under their Government, were by such a Union, become very Powerful. Depending upon it, *Lesdisguieres* carry'd on his Intrigues with the Duke of *Savoy* and the Republick of *Venice*, from whom he got great Sums of Money, in hopes of his Assistance in their Wars with the *Spaniards*, *Lesdisguieres* lending and marching the Troops under his Command, as if they were his own, and treating with the *Savoyards* and the *Venetians* as if he had no dependance on *Lewis* the XIIIth, and

was

was Sovereign of the Province of which he was only Governour, as will be observ'd more at large hereafter.

The Duke *D' Epernon* having taken Offence against the Citizens of *Rochelle*, actually laid Siege to the City, tho' he had positive Orders from the Court to the contrary. *Boissire* a Councillor of State, brought him fresh Orders to forbear, which *Epernon* was so far from hearkning to, that before *Boissire's* Face he commanded the Horse to Mount, and his Army to march towards *Rochelle*, into which *Boissire* threw himself, and animated the Citizens to defend themselves with Vigour, which they did, tho' there was no great Danger of the Place's being taken by 5 or 6000 Men. *Epernon* thought to have surpriz'd it, and his Disappointment made him and his Enterprize a Jest, to the terrible Mortification of the Vainest Man of the Vainest Nation upon Earth.

What is all this, Riot or Resistance, Rebellion or Frolick? Here's a *French* Lord in Arms, not for his Master's Service, not in Obedience to his Commands, but in actual Disobedience, and to please his own Vain Glorious Humour. Are these the Effects of a Minority in *France*, or was *Lewis* the XIIth a Minor to his Death? Let not the *French* *Papists* charge the Protestants with these Rebellions; the Reform'd were the best Subjects in *France*, and in all the Stirs in this Century, the Catholicks were the Aggressors.

Lewis the XIIth was now Sixteen Years Old, and considering the Advances Princes make by the Advantages of Education, one wou'd think he might have been able to judge of his Interest, and determine for himself with the Assistance of Wise Counsellors, yet the *French* Lords all over the Kingdom, took no Notice of him. The Queen Mother and her Creatures, manag'd all things at their Pleasure; in the Provinces the Governors were entirely Masters, leaving the Name only to their King. What hinder'd them from Establishing the Power they pretended to? Was it Religion, and the Fear of the Sin of

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Resistance?

Resistance? Every Day did one or other of them Resist, and every Man of 'em in his Turn. *Vassor* gives us the True Reason of the Passive Disposition of the Grandees of France. Such Vol. II. Part II. Book II. is their Genius, says he, that they carry on their Haughtiness to the utmost Insolence whenever they find the Government to be meek; but so soon as the King's Authority is well settled, they do not only Obey with a Profound and Lawful Respect, but creep like the meanest of Slaves and Villains. That this Reign was a weak one, may be seen by the Character of the Prince who Reign'd, which I shall take out of the History of the Edict of Nantz. "The King, says the Historian, was hardly minded at Court: He was Young, and of a weak Constitution. He lov'd Hawking and Musick, and pass'd his Time in those little Amusements, leaving the Sole Authority of the Government to the Queen his Mother. He was nevertheless Jealous of his Power, even to excess, though he neither understood, nor cou'd enjoy it. During the whole Course of his Life, he never cou'd exert it himself, nor suffer it in the Hands of another. It was equally impossible for him not to raise his Favourites to a vast degree of Power, and to endure them, when possess'd of the Grandeur to which he had rais'd them himself. By making them such, he put them in a State to displease him. His Sentiments were conceal'd in his own Heart, and whereas he only communicated them to a few, those who are of Opinion that there is always a Mystery in the Conduct of Princes, accus'd him of a Black and profound Dissimulation. To say the Truth, the Reason of his Silence was, that he neither confided in himself nor in others, and that he had a great deal of Timorousness and Weakness, &c. He had as yet had no Favourite of his own: He never lov'd *D' Ancre*, and the First Man he bestow'd his Affection on, rose to a greater height of Fortune and Power, and us'd both worse than ever

ever *Conchini* did, but he was better born with because he was a French Man. The Man I am speaking of, was *Honore Albert de Luines*, a Man almost unknown, insomuch that it was question'd whether he was Born a Gentleman. He insinuated himself into his Majesty's Royal Favour, by presenting him with two wary Angles, taught to fly at small Birds in Hedges, worth about a Shilling, which was extremely well laid out, for it purchas'd him the Constable's Staff of France. The King was Charm'd with the Present, taking a great deal of Pleasure to see those little Birds imitate those of a higher Flight, and *Luines* was very careful to have him well supply'd with them, when he found how mightily his Majesty was taken with them. No Body thought him capable of perswading the King to any thing but the Pleasures of Hawking, but they were mistaken, for *Luines* perceiving the Ascendant he had got over the King's Mind, left the Pleasure of Hawking to his Majesty, and thought himself of enjoying those of Power: The Marechal *D'Ancre* saw as soon, as any one, how *Luines* got Ground daily in *Lewis's* Favour, and to support his own declining Interest, promis'd him his Protection, in hopes of that of *Luines* if he shou'd want it. When the Marechal return'd from his Government of *Normandy*, he was afraid that instead of serving him, as he at first expected, *Luines* was become his Secret Enemy, and that he employ'd himself about something more important than Hunting and Hawking. Upon which meeting him one Day, he said with an angry Look, *M. de Luines the King looks upon me with an Evil Eye, but you shall be answerable for it.* This was enough to make *Luines* sensible that he was in danger of being undone, unless he cou'd prevent it, by ruining the Marechal, which made him do his utmost to increase the Aversion he saw the King had for him. He gave the Disaffected Lords to understand, on what Foot *D'Ancre* stood with his Majesty, which they were not acquainted with before, and the King falling dangerously ill, *Luines* took care to let him

know how much the News of it afflicted the Lords at *Soissons*, where they mostly resided. The Cardinal *de Guise* coming to *Paris*, joyn'd himself with *Luines*, and they both so wrought upon the King, that he himself enter'd into the Confederacy against *Conchini*, declaring it wou'd be a great Satisfaction to him, if the Lords who had forsaken the Court, wou'd continue to be well United together, and never be reconcil'd to the Marechal D' *Ancre*. *Luines* gave them Information of it, and the Destruction of *Conchini* was now a thing they look'd upon as accomplish'd.

The *Italian* endeavour'd on his Part, to fix himself more securely than ever; he put the Queen Mother on removing *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, whose Place was given to *Mangot*, a *Gascon* Lawyer, who never rose higher than to preside in a Country Court. All Men, says Vassor, were mightily dissatisfy'd, to see a Magistrate of such extraordinary Reputation and Merit, turn'd out only to make room for an unworthy Creature of *Conchini*. The Parliament paid so much Honour to *Du Vair*, that they sent Two of their Members to him to know whether he had voluntarily deliver'd up the Seals, or whether the King had taken them from him. He only answer'd by recommending his Successor, plainly declaring, that he saw his Integrity and Probity were not agreeable to the Relish of those who pretended to Govern the Kingdom. At the same time that *Mangot* was made Keeper of the Seals, *Richlieu*, Bishop of *Lucon*, was made Secretary of War, to the great Indignation of the People. *Richlieu*, says my Author, was quite tir'd of reading Holy Books, and the Fathers of the Church, and therefore let the World talk as it wou'd, had solicited for an Employment which was fitter to enter him further into State Affairs, and to satisfy his Boundless Ambition than that of Great Almoner to the Queen.

Luines being thus gam'd by the Malecontents, and egg'd on by the hopes of his enriching himself by the Spoils of *Conchini*, took advantage of the

the King's *Foible* which he knew, and fill'd his Head with Jealousies and Vexations against those who had abus'd his Authority and Treasure. Three Men serv'd him in that Design; *Deagean*, a Subtle, Violent, Ambitious Man, First Clerk to *Barbin*, *Conchini's* Creature, lately put into *Jeannins's* Place. This Man betray'd his Master, and came every Night to give the King an Account how they play'd with his Power. *Marsillac*, an inconsiderable Person, seconded in the Day by his Discourse, what *Deagean* advanc'd by Night, the same Man that *Rochfort*, the Prince of *Conde's* Favourite Can'd, as has been before related, *Desplans*, a Soldier in the Guards, but the only Man of Parts among them, was *Deagean*. I shall not enter into the Detail of their Contrivances, to bring the Young King to consent to the Assassination of *Conchini*: They sometimes Council'd, sometimes perswaded, but most often, and most successfully frighten'd him, till they had got out of him an Order for the Mareschal's Murder.

One shall hardly ever hear of a Prince's giving his Order for the Assassination of so great an Officer, in the Face of Day in his own Palace, and in view of the whole Court. Murders have been frequently enough committed in such Places privately, but for a King who is the Guardian of the Law, to break it so openly, so bloodily, is hardly to be parallel'd in all *Christian Story*. As Potent as some of the *Grande'es* of *France* might be by their Friends, their Family, their Government, their Estates, what need he have been afraid of bringing a Foreigner to Justice, which all the Kingdom demanded of him? Did not he or his Confidants, who knew better, know that Justice wou'd not have touch'd the Life and Estate of this too happy Stranger in the Favours of Fortune? And where was there ever in *Christendom*, a King, but a *French King*, that Commission'd a Captain of his Guards to Cut a Courtier's Throat, or Pistol him in his House, without Proof of any Crime deserving Death. God be thank'd our *Histories* are not

stain'd with any thing so black; we have had Great Men Murder'd, but a Compliment has been paid to the Law in committing the Murder. 'Twas by the Form of Law, that the Lord *Russel*, and Collonel *Sydney* dy'd; and if the Earl of *Essex* was Murder'd, it was in his Closet, and by Russians of another sort of Character, than that of a Mareschal of *France*.

There were 'tis true, Lords in *France* in those Days, that cou'd not have been taken off without a Battel, but *D'Ancre* was not in such Credit; and as the Courts of Justice then stood affected, it is probable there was no occasion of putting the Captain of the King's Guards on such a Butchery.

I have in the foregoing Pages mention'd one of those Lords, the Mareschal de *Lesdisguieres*, and his making War against the *Spaniards*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Savoy*, contrary to the Orders of the Court; an Event more extraordinary happen'd not in this Period, and therefore I shall relate it.

As soon as *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, had by his Intrigues with the Mareschal, thought himself sure of him, he wrote a very obliging Letter to desire his *Trusty Friend* and *Good Neighbour*, to perform the Promises he had several Times made him, to assist him with the Forces of the *French King*, in case the Governour of *Milan* should refuse to execute what his Catholick Majesty had promis'd by the Treaty of *Asi*, of which King *Lewis* had made himself Mediator and Guarantee. The Mareschal press'd the Court for Leave to march to succour the Duke of *Savoy*, from whom he had receiv'd considerable Remittances, and expected more; but the Queen Mother, who had newly enter'd into a strict Alliance with *Spain*, by a Double Match, wou'd not hear of it. She was so far from complying on a second Express from *Lesdisguieres* on the same Subject, that a Declaration was publish'd, forbidding his Levies of Men under Pain of High Treason: However, what by the Perswasion of his belov'd *La Meyranne*, and the

the Solicitations of the Prince of *Piedmont*, with whom he had an Interview, he resolv'd to raise an Army, and joyn the Duke of *Savoy*. Several Messages were sent to him to oblige him to desist, sometimes by Flatteries, sometimes by Threats. The King of *Spain* offer'd him Money to raise 40000 Men to Conquer *Savoy* for himself, but that was an Artifice too thin not to be penetrated by such a Politician as he. New Orders came from Court forbidding him to march his Forces into Foreign Countries. These Orders had no more Force than the rest. *I am now marching*, says the Marechal, *to the Assistance of his Highness the Duke of Savoy, against the Intention and express Orders of the Court. But upon some Occasions we ought to disobey our own Master, to serve him better according to his real Interests.* The Parliament of *Grenoble* had Instruction to verify the Orders sent him, and to endeavour to perswade him not to march. He gave them the hearing, banter'd that Awful Senate, as I doubt not the Advocates often call them, gave them the Royal Orders to verify, tho' against his marching, and at that very Instant march'd his Army under the Windows of the Parliament Chamber, the Magistrates sitting upon their *Fleurs de Lis*, and seeing with great Indignation this insufferable Contempt of the King's and their Authority. *Vassor* writes thus on this Occasion, *What difference good God, between the Great Lords of those Times, and those who Live under the present Reign! A Letter under the Signet, What say I? A Word from a Minister of State now, makes them all to tremble more cringing still, than that unworthy Roman, who Liv'd in the Time of Tiberius, they believe that the Power of the King is unconfined, and that a Blind Obedience to the most Unjust Commands, and most contrary to the Publick Weal of the Kingdom, makes all the Glory and Distinction of an Officer of the Crown, a Peer of France, and a Prince of the Blood.*

Several Letters were written in the King's Name to the discontented Lords, and Answers receiv'd from them; that to the Duke de Mayenne, was written by the Bishop of Lucon, afterwards Cardinal de Richlieu, wherein that Florid Prelate makes his Majesty say, *If a Sovereign has any Obligation to a Subject, I confess my self indebted to your Father. The Genius*, lays a French Historian, of that *Flattering and Ambitious Courtier*, began to discover it self by this *Insinuation*. But whatever the Bishop made the King say, his Majesty knew nothing of the matter, and his Favourite kept a Correspondence with the Discontented Lords, whom the Ministry had declar'd Rebels; and the Parliament so zealous for the Reformation of the State, and the removal of *D' Ancre* a few Months ago, confirm'd that Declaration; in which was inserted the President *Le Jay*, one of their own Members. Remonstrances and Manifestos flew about daily. The Lords answer'd the King's Declaration, and particularly the Duke de Nevers wrote a Letter to the Pope in his Justification, wherein he pretended, that as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Loudon*, he was oblig'd to take Arms to defend it against those who had broken it. The Court wou'd not allow the Guaranty of the King of *Great Britain*, and here one of their own Subjects usurp that Quality. How strangely different is one Century from another? If there are not Dukes in *France*, who are not of the Blood of so Illustrious a Descent as the Duke de Nevers, yet there are still Dukes and Peers, who have as good an Opinion of themselves and their Family; durst the Proudest and most Potent of them pretend to be Guarantee of any one of the present King's Edicts, and take Arms if he broke it? What a want of Dukes and Peers wou'd there soon be, to fill up that August Assembly, the Parliament of *Paris*.

On the Subject of these Manifestos, Letters and Remonstrances, my Author writes: *As such Pamphlets do principally come Abroad in Times of Civil War, to prepossess and stir up the People; so the Publish-*

ers thereof fancy they have a Privilege to say or write any pittiful Stuff, provided it has but Sting and Malice enough to make Impression on the Minds of Ignorant, Common People: and that will have greater Effect, than all the Solid Arguments in the World.

In this Dispute, the Loyalty of the Reform'd was so Exemplary, that 'tis strange there shou'd be so much Ingratitude in Princes, as not always to confess and reward it. The Juncture seem'd fair for them to procure Satisfaction for the Infractions made on their Edicts. There was an extraordinary Assembly at *Rochel*, on Account of *D' Epernon's* Attempt on that City, and the Duke de Vendome offer'd to put himself at the Head of them, if they wou'd joyn with the Discontented Lords, which notwithstanding all the Intrigues of the Mareschal de Bouillon, they refus'd to do: But they publish'd a sort of Manifesto of their Grievances, and having provided for the Security of *Rochelle*, in case of any other Attempt upon it, they broke up their Assembly as soon as they heard of *D' Ancre's* Death. This Session was not warranted by Writ from Court, and their Enemies endeavour'd to misrepresent it to the Queen and Ministry, tho' none cou'd think it unwarrantable, when an Army was brought before the Walls of a City, which was their greatest Security.

The Queen and her Confidants being Jealous of the growing Favour of *Luines*, thought it their Interest to ruin the Discontented Party as soon as possible, and then they imagin'd they might easily drive him from Court. An Army was sent against the Duke de Nevers in *Champaigne*, another against the Duke de Mayenne, who was forc'd to shut himself up in *Soissons*. The Royal Armies being so much Superior to the Lord's Forces, that they cou'd not make Head against them, the New Favourite on his side saw, that if the Lords were dispers'd, and their Party broken, *D' Ancre* wou'd Establish himself more firmly than ever, and then he wou'd certainly put his Threats in Execution,

to make him answerable for the King's Coldness to him. This put *Luines*, his Two Brothers, *Deagean* and the Conspirators, on quickning his Majesty's Fears of *Conchini's* Designs against his Life. A Thousand Terrible Stories they invented of him, I shall content my self with relating one of their Contrivances, because it was that which determin'd him to consent to the Murder of *D' Ancre*.

Some Men appointed and Instructed by *Luines*, enter'd one Evening into the King's Chamber with a sad and dismal Countenance. The deep Silence they were in for some Moments, stir'd up the King's Curiosity to ask them the Cause of such extraordinary Sadness: The Men sigh'd, and gave him to understand, they durst not be so bold as to speak, for fear of their Lives. King *Lewis* still more frightned, commanded them to speak, and at last one of the Company broke Silence. Sir, said he, sighing as if from the bottom of his Soul, *The Citizens of Paris are in a very great Consternation; your Good and Faithful Subjects are afraid for your Precious Life: They Weep and Lament, you are in the Hands of Italians; and what ought they not to fear from Persons who know so well how to make use of Poison, to come to the End of their Design.* They had before insinuated to him, that *Katharine de Medicis* wou'd have murder'd her Son *Charles* the IXth in the same manner, to make room for her Favourite Son. *Henry Duke d' Anjou*; and that *Mary d' Medicis* might do the same for her belov'd Son *Gaston*, Duke de *Anjou*, the King's Brother. Upon this, *Lewis* the XIIth, consented to the Assassination of *Conchini*, and the removal of the Queen his Mother.

Before the Bloody Fact was perpetrated, the Bishop of *Lucon*, who found how matters were going, and that his Protector the Marechal *D' Ancre*, was not likely to be able to serve him long, sent a Kinsman of his *Luinet*, to offer him *Richlieu's* Service. He has taken upon him, said his Kinsman to the New Favourite, the Place of Secretary of State, with a full Design to serve the King.

He has observ'd with an extream Regret, *That things have not been well manag'd, and that his Majesty is dissatisfy'd with it. If his Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to accept of the Services of M. du Lucon, and receive him into the Number of his Ministers, you shall be, Sir, exactly inform'd of all the Resolutions taken in the Secret Council of the Queen Mother.* Richlieu had afterwards a Private Interview with the King and Luines, and engag'd to betray his Two Benefactors, *Mary de Medicis* and *Conchini*, on Condition that he shou'd keep his Place.

Is it not on the Genius and Politicks of this Prelate, that the late Greatness of the *French Monarchy* was Founded? See therefore what these Politicks are, what their Foundation; and think whatever Turns happen in the Affairs of *Europe*, whether a Monarchy, whose Greatness is so Founded, can be favour'd by Heaven, and that Greatness be lasting.

King *Lewis* being at a loss which way to rid himself of his Wardship, had a mind to fly to *Meaux*, there to Summon his Subjects from all Parts to his Assistance; some propos'd to him to make a Pretence to go to the Parliament, and there cause the Mareschal to be seiz'd in his Presence; others talk'd of flying to the Discontented Lords, but *Luines* was for quick Dispatch; and tho' when the Action was on the Point of being done, he boggled a little a Word or two from his braver Brothers. *Cadenet* and *Brautes* dissipated all his Apprehensions: He communicated the Design to *Vitry*, Captain of the Guards, who undertook it readily, in hopes of *Conchini's* Batton, and Orders were given for his being Arrested, as they call'd it in the *Louvre*. All things being in readiness on the 24th of *April*, 1617, the Mareschal coming to the *Louvre*, attended by his own Train of Gentlemen, the great Gate was open'd to him, and shut upon him immediately. A Man who stood over the Gate, gave three Flourishes with his Hat in the Air, the Signal that *Vitri* had order'd to acquaint him, that the Mareschal was enter'd, *Vitri*, Captain of the Guards,

comes

comes coldly out of the *Switzers* Hall, with his Cloak upon his Shoulders, and his Staff in his Hand. *Du Hallai*, his Brother *Persan*, Captain of the *Bastile*, and some other *Ruffians*, who were dispers'd in several Places, joyn'd him as if by Accident. They went all to meet *Conchini*, without shewing the least Affectation. Among the Gentlemen who waited on the *Mareschal*, were some of *Vitri's* Acquaintance, who Complimented him, Saluted him, and took him by the Hand. In the mean while, *Conchini* went on beyond the Captain of the Guards, who having lost sight of him, ask'd, *Where is the Mareschal D' Ancre?* There he is said they, pointing at *Conchini* reading of a Letter. *Vitri* made up to him, and laying his Hand upon his Right Arm, said, *I Arrest You, Sir, by the Order of the King; Who me!* reply'd the *Mareschal* in a very great Surprize; *Yes, you, your self*, answer'd *Vitri*, holding him by the Arm with all his Strength, and at the same time beckon'd to *Du Hallai*, *Persan* and others, who were appointed to be his Murderers. These Assassins discharg'd Three Pistols close at him, and *Conchini* fell Dead to the Ground upon his Knees, half thrown back on the Parapet of the Bridge, which was then at the *Louvre*. The *Ruffians* basely ran him through with their Swords, after he was Dead; *Vitri* kick'd him with his Feet, and laid him at his full length, for which, very suddenly, he will be dignify'd with the Honour of a *Mareschal* of *France*.

Thus fell *Conchino Conchini*, whose greatest Fault was, that he was not a *French* Man; and yet that was no such a Fault in the *Mareschals* *Trivulei* and *Srozzi*, both *Italians* as well as *D' Ancre*. Considering the Maxims and Practices of Favourites in all Ages and all Courts, *Conchini* was much more sufferable than many that we read of; and his Successor *Lunes*, will ere long, let them feel the difference between a Man of good Nature with his Pride, and one as Insolent as he was Powerful.

Before we enter farther into this Tragedy, I shall give the Character of *D' Ancre*, as given by the

the Mareschal D' Estrees in his Memoirs of the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*. When I reflect, says he, on the Death of the Mareschal D' Ancre, I can attribute it only to his Evil Destiny. He was Naturally a Well bred Person, and had disobligh'd very few People. 'Tis not easily to be comprehended for what all France rose against him: He was agreeable in his Person, Graceful on Horseback, and indeed in all his other Exercises. His Conversation was Sweet and Easy; his Thoughts Towering and Ambitious; and yet he conceal'd them upon some Occasions. He never desir'd to come to the King's Council. This was the Man whom the French treated in the Barbarous manner that has been, and will be related, such extraordinary Events as these deserving to be treated of at large, they being equally Instructive and Entertaining.

The Queen Mother surpriz'd at the hearing of Pistols discharg'd in the *Louvre*, bid one of her Maids of Honour look out of the Window, and inquire what was the matter. The Lady seeing the Captain of the Guards, ask'd him the Occasion of that Disorder. *Vitri* answer'd without any Concern, the Mareschal D' Ancre is kill'd: Who was the Murderer? said she. My self, reply'd *Vitri* as seriously as before; The King Commanded me to do it. The Lady presently drew in her Head, and acquainted *Mary de Medicis* with it, who upon the News of it, pull'd off all her Head-Clothes, and with her Hair dishrivel'd, ran about the Room wringing of her Hands in a most desperate manner, being stunn'd at this unexpected Blow, not for *Conchini's* Death, but for the Loss of her Authority, as she express'd herself afterwards, when she was more Mistress of her Reason, saying, I am not troubled that the King has caus'd the Mareschal D' Ancre to be murder'd, if he thought it necessary for the Good of the Kingdom, but the Mistrust he has shew'd towards me, in concealing his Resolution from his own Mother, gives me a very great Affliction. And she had Reason to be apprehensive of her Son's Coldness to her,

as she found presently by Experience; for Vitri disarm'd her Guards, and his Majesty refus'd to see her.

The Farce they made *Lewis* the XIIIth play after this Tragedy, is very extraordinary. As soon as the Pistols went off, a Man ran in a Fright to the King's Chamber, crying out, *They have mis'd the Marechal D' Ancre, he is coming up with his Men, and their Swords in their Hands; You had best, Sir, take care of Your self. What shall I do?* Says the King to *Du Bellier*? Who answer'd, *Since Your Majesty shews so much Courage, go meet 'em, run them through, and every Body that dares resist you.* 'Tis very probable, as *Vassor* says, this was a Trick play'd on purpose by *Luines's* Contrivance, to keep his Fears awake, and make him own the Murder. The King takes his Sword very Manfully, and marches into the Great Hall, where they told him *D' Ancre* was kill'd, and making him shew himself to the Crowd in the Court of the *L' Ouvre*, where he saw the Captain of the Guards, he cry'd, *I thank you Vitri, now I am King of France.* He had the Soldiers *To Arms, To Arms.*

Nothing was heard all over the Palace and City, but *Vive le Roy, The King is now King*, the Members of Parliament running so fast, that they left their square Caps and Hoods, to pay their Compliments to his Majesty, as did all the Princes, Princesses, and People of Quality; the Crowd being so great, that the King was forc'd to get up on his Billiard Table to receive their Homages: And there are a hundred Stories of his Majesty's fine Repartees, which not answering the other Parts of his Life, I do not think there's any need of remembring, as being put into his Mouth either then or afterwards.

The most Infamous Circumstance that attended this Murder, was the Flattery of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Supream Court of Judicature in *France*, and the only *French* Senate *Paris* cou'd boast of. *The King*, said they, upon a Question whether the Marechal's Carcass shou'd be Try'd, *has caus'd the*

Mar.

Mareschal D'Ancre to be kill'd, whose Crimes were
Notorious. The Consent of his Majesty alone, covers
all the wants of Formalities. To go about now to
make Process upon the Trunk of a Dead Man, wou'd
be thereby to call in Question the Power of the King.
 I shall repeat here the very Words of a French
 Historian. "What do I hear. Good God! Are
 "these who speak so, Magistrates of the First
 "Tribunal of France? It wou'd be to call in *Questi-*
 "on the Power of the King. Has he then a Pre-
 "rogative to put Men to Death without due Tryal
 "and Process according to Law? Such are the
 "fatal and detestable Consequences of that Prin-
 "ciple, which allow to Kings an Arbitrary Pow-
 "er, and makes them Masters of the Lives and
 "Fortunes of their Subjects. *The Consent of his*
 "Majesty alone covers all Formalities. By this Bar-
 "barous and Cruel Axiom (more fit to be alledg'd
 "in the Divan of a Mahometan Sovereign, than
 "in the Council of the Most Christian King) they
 "may very well justify the Massacre committed
 "on St. Bartholomew's Day. Charles the IXth pre-
 "tended, that the Crimes of Admiral *de Coligny,*
 "and of all those Brave French Gentlemen whose
 "Throats were Cut that Day, were still more
 "Notorious. than those the Mareschal D'Ancre
 "was suspected to be Guilty of. And cou'd the
 "bare Consent of that Inhumane King, *Cover the*
 "want of Formalities? What Reason have those
 "Gentlemen of the Parliament, to suppose that
 "the Crimes of *Conchini* were Publick and No-
 "torious? They were never prov'd. He was Con-
 "demn'd, as being Guilty of High Treason, by
 "that very Sentence which was pronounc'd against
 "the Unfortunate *Galigai*, whereby she was Con-
 "demn'd to lose her Head. But it is to be wish'd,
 "even for the Reputation sake of the Parliament
 "of Paris, that the Remembrance of that Wicked
 "Judgement might be for ever obliterated.

What might I not say on this Head; how do
 Reflections croud themselves upon me; but that of
 all of them which touches me most, is, that I must
 keep

keep them to my self. 'Twas pretended that D' *Ancre* made some Resistance, which is false; he only express'd his Astonishment by some Words: And the Three Commission'd Assassins, the Three Gentlemen, as *Delbene* phras'd it at the Prince of *Conde's* Apprehension, Shot him Dead upon the Spot, with the King's Consent.

Richlieu having lost his Protectors, and doubting whether his proffer'd Service wou'd be accepted now the King had taken the Government into his own Hands, went however and presented himself to his Majesty. Well, *M. de Lucon*, said King *Lewis* sitting still upon his Billiard Table, *I am at last deliver'd from your Tyranny*. The Bishop was put quite out of Countenance at these Words, and while he was preparing to say something in his own Justification, the King bluntly commanded him to withdraw. *Luines* began to have a Jealousy of the Bishop's Artifices and Ambition, and was glad the King had already forgot the great hopes he had given *Richlieu* some Days before. The good Prelate had his Friends that put his Majesty in mind of it; and *Luines* sent him word, that tho' *Villeroy* was restor'd to the Office of Secretary of State, yet that of Counsellor was reserv'd for him, and an Officer was order'd to wait upon him as from the King, to the Door of the Chamber where the Council was then sitting. As soon as *Villeroy* and the Old Ministers heard they were bringing in *Richlieu*, they started so many Difficulties, that the Bishop did not care to go into the Council, but stay'd without the Door, under Pretence of discouraging the First President, and finding his continuing at Court, when all the Friends and Servants of *Mary de Medicis* were so ill treated, gave Jealousy that he had betray'd her. He thought it at that time, his Wisest way to quit his Pretension to the Place of a Councillor of State. *Barbin* being apprehended, fell a railing at his Protector *Conchini*, and shew'd that his Soul was so thoroughly base, both in his Ingratitude to his Patron, and his Treachery and Corruption, that he better

better deserv'd the Fate of *D' Ancre*, than that Unfortunate *Italian*: Yet so high had he been in Favour, that *Richlieu* once courted him to marry his Sister, who was afterwards Mother of the First Princess of the Blood, *Barbin* not thinking her worthy of him.

The Usage *Caligai*, the Wife of the Mareschal, met with, was still more Barbarous than any; when she heard her Husband was kill'd, she immediately hid her Jewels in the Feathers of her Bed, and lay upon it, pretending Indisposition; but some of *Vitri's* Men made her get up, and upon search they found the Treasure. They rob'd her of her very Stockings, insomuch that she was forc'd to borrow some of her Son's small Money to buy some Linnen Ones, for this Lady of a Mareschal of *France*, who the Day before had been so Richly Dress'd. As she was carrying to the Place of her Confinement, she bore the Affront of the Insolent Soldiers, and the Insults of her Enemies like a Heroine. She was not seen to shed a Tear, and what she said was with Decency and without Passion. *My Husband has been kill'd*, said she to the Guards, *Is not that enough, let the King give me leave then to remove out of France, &c.* But that wou'd not do *Luines's* Business, who wanted the Forfeiture of the Mareschal's Goods, and therefore she was to dye by the Hands of the Common Hangman. Accordingly she was remov'd from the *Louvre* to the *Bastile*, and thence to the Common Goal, suffering all the Indignities that Cruelty and Insolence cou'd offer her. The Guards seiz'd also a very Lovely Youth, the Son of *Conchini* and *Galigai*, took from him his Hat and Cloak, and us'd him so barbarously, that the Lad in Despair, resolv'd to starve himself to Death, and wou'd neither Eat nor Drink. A Gentleman of the Court desir'd leave of the King to take the Youth into his House, and the Young Queen had likewise some Compassion upon him: She sent him Sweat-Meats, and order'd him to be brought to her. She had been told he Danc'd very prettily, and wou'd needs have him Dance in her Presence.

A very improper time for the poor Creature to be put upon such an Exercise ; however he obey'd her Commands, and 'twas observable he did his utmost to conceal from her that Grief which almost overwhelm'd him. I must own I was extremely touch'd at reading this Story, and have a very mean Opinion of the Tenderness of that Princess, for the Misfortunes of a Child involv'd in them, by those of his Parents ; and the Horror of the Conclusion of this Tragedy is such, that hardly any History can parallel. After the Corpse of the Marechal had been bury'd privately in a Church near the *Louvre*, the Rabble broke into it, dug up his Grave, took out the Corpse, drag'd it to the *Pont-neuf*, where a Gallows had been set up to Hang some Persons accus'd of assisting the Discontented Party. A Footman offer'd his Service to tie up the Corpse by the Feet, saying, *He threatend to hang me not long ago.* Galigai wondering at the Noise she heard, ask'd her Keepers what was the matter, they answer'd, *The People are going to hang your Husband*, yet she did not weep ; and having not lately been very fond of him, she said, *They use him as he deserves, He was a bad Man, Proud and Arrogant.* The Mob pluck'd out the Eyes of the Dead Marechal, cut off his Nose and Ears, his Privy Members and his Arms ; then divided themselves into Bands, and each Band drag'd a Part of his Body about the Streets. A Man well enough dress'd, open'd his Belly, thrust his Hand into it, and drew it out again, besmear'd with his Blood, and lick'd it. Another took his Heart, broil'd it upon Burning Coals, and eat it, dipping every Bit in Vinegar. The Trunk was drag'd to the *Grave*, the *Bastille*, before the *Hotel of Conde*, and even before his own House. The Rabble at last weary'd with their Barbarities, Burnt one part of the Corpse at the *Grave*, and the other on the *Pont-neuf*. The Gallows serv'd to make the Fire ; his Ashes were gather'd up and sold by the Ounce.

Is this the Delicate, the Polite Nation, that pretends to be the Pattern of Politeness and Delicacy for all the World to imitate? I question if the *Histories* of the *Russes* or *Tartars*, has any thing so horrid and detestable in it. All the Reason they had to hate *Conchini*, was, because the Queen Mother lov'd his Wife, and he did what all Courtiers do, make the best use he cou'd of her Favour, for his own Advantage, in which he was neither so Rapacious nor so Haughty, as many whom they bore with, without murmuring. Is it not very strange to see a Man murder'd in the Palace, and a Declaration come out after it, that the Mareschal *De Vitri*, for so we must now call the Murderer, and the rest of his Accomplices shou'd never be troubl'd for it. This Assassin went to the Parliament in great Pomp, to take the Oath of Mareschal of *France*, the Count *de Soissons*, several Dukes and Peers, some Officers of the Crown, and a great Number of Persons of Quality were present at the Ceremony. The Advocates flatter'd him in their Speeches, and none more than the Advocate General, Monsieur *Servien*, whose Oration on that Occasion, was full of the vilest Flattery, and most Notorious Falshoods. He said *Conchini* was a Notary's Son of *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*, that he was the greatest Monster upon Earth, and no Encomiums cou'd be too great for the worthy Instrument his Majesty had made use of to destroy him. Now whatever had been reported of the Meanness of *D' Ancre's* Birth, 'tis certain his Father was a Senator of *Florence*, and his Grand-Father had been employ'd by the Great Duke in several Ambassies, but such is the Integrity of *French* Lawyers. I hope Protestants of that Profession, cannot be Guilty of the like Baseness. The Mareschal *D' Ancre* had been Assassinated by Authority, the Mareschal *de Vitri* was the Assassin, and they cou'd not compliment the one, without abusing the other. 'Twas known to all the World, that the Parliament of *Paris* had made their Court to *Conchini* as much as any Body of Men in *France*, yet the Honest Advocate-General exclaim'd bitterly against all those that had ador'd

the Fortune of the Mareſchal *D' Ancre*, terming it *Coionmexie*, a *Pitiful, Cowardly Behaviour*. Yet at the ſame time is he himſelf adoring the Fortune of a Man that got it by murdering him. An Action ſo Villainous, that *D' Ancre* cannot be charg'd with any thing ſo bad during the whole Courſe of his Favour, tho' 'twas made ſo uneaſy to him, by thoſe that envy'd him, that he had often Provocations to proceed to Extremities. The News of *D' Ancre's* Death, was receiv'd all over the Kingdom with great Transport; every one Congratulated his Maſteſty on his aſſuming the Government into his own Hands, tho' in Truth 'twas only changing *Conchini* for *Luines*.

The *Proteſtants* were not behind hand with the *Papiſts* in this Congratulation: *Du Pleſſis Mornay* was preſently made acquainted with the *Revolution* at Court, which follow'd the Death of the Mareſchal *D' Ancre*. He immediately ſent his Son in-Law, *Monſieur Villarnoux* thither, to Congratulate his Maſteſty upon this kind of New Acceſſion to the Throne. The Letter he ſent by him, was ſo acceptable to the King and Favourite, that it was preſently publiſh'd in *Paris* by his Maſteſty's Special Command. *Du Pleſſis* made no mention of the Queen Mother or Mareſchal *D' Ancre*, only Commended his Maſteſty's Aſſuming the Adminiſtration into his own Hands, and then beg'd that he wou'd be pleas'd to grant them their *Unqueſtionable Right*, the Performance of the ſeveral *Edicts* made in their Favour. The King answer'd *Du Pleſſis's* Letter, and ſaid, *I cauſ'd your Letter to be read to me ſeveral times, and am much pleas'd with the good Advice you give me therein, and will be ſure to follow it.* He adds, *He will not only give his Reform'd Subjects their Unqueſtionable Right, but alſo Lead them with his Favours.* *Du Pleſſis* had advis'd his Maſteſty to ſet the Prince of *Conde* at Liberty, and recal the Diſcontented Lords. The latter was reſolv'd upon, the former *Luines* wou'd not hear of, fearing the Authority his Rank naturally gave; the Firſt Prince of the Blood wou'd be an Impediment to the Boundleſs Power

Power he was aiming at. The King indeed, sent to acquaint the Princess of *Conde* that he wou'd admit her to his Presence whenever she wou'd come to the *Louvre*; she went presently, accompany'd by the Dutchess *de Angoulesme* her Sister, and threw herself at the King's Feet. She thank'd him for the Honour he had done her, to admit her to wait upon his Majesty, and, with Tears in her Eyes, intreated him to bestow some Marks of his Clemency upon the First Prince of the Blood. Adding, *If you do not think fit, Sir, to set him at Liberty, grant me the Favour at least to shut my self up in the Bastille,* which Favour King *Lewis* answer'd he intended to grant her, saying, *I love Monsieur the Prince and his Family, and all imaginable Care shall be taken of him, till I have put my Affairs in good Order. I am very sorry they do not allow me as yet to grant him his Liberty. You may assure him from me, that I will endeavour to content him as soon as I can.* The Princess went that very Day to be a Prisoner with her Husband in the *Bastille*, where for four Months they expected the Performance of his Majesty's Promise, but then instead of being releas'd from their Confinement, they were, as an extraordinary Favour, remov'd to the Tower of *Vincennes*, where his Highness remain'd several Years.

The Discontented Lords return'd to Court, without any Act of Abolition, to excuse their Proceedings, contrary to the Advice of *Villeroi* and others, they having been declar'd Guilty of High Treason, having rais'd Soldiers, and maintain'd Treaties. *Luines* already carry'd his Ambitious Views so high, that he thought of no less a Match than the Duke *de Vendome's* Sister, the Natural Sister of *Lewis*. To ingratiate himself with him, he obtain'd a Pass, that the Duke might return without making any Publick Submission; and to gain the Friendship of the other Lords, procur'd the same Permission for them, which brought them all to Court, where they were well receiv'd; and

the King's Declaration restoring them to his good Grace, was Register'd in Parliament.

We have seen how the State of Affairs was quite alter'd by the Death of *Conchini*, how the Queen Mother was depriv'd of her Authority; her Creatures lost their Places, and she herself treated with all the Contempt that an Insulting Enemy cou'd shew the Mother of his Master. Officers and Soldiers enter'd her Chamber, without asking her Leave; Search was made in her Closet, under her Bed and Trunks; and when one of her Ladies of Honour ask'd the Reason of that Rudeness, she was answer'd, *We have Orders to see if there be not some Barrells of Gun-Powder to Blow up the King, who lyes over this Apartment*; one of the Doors of which, was immediately Wall'd up. The Draw-Bridge, which let into her Garden, was broken down. All her Discourses and Motions were narrowly observ'd; her Administration was reflect-ed upon in all the King's Declarations, where there was the least Occasion to make mention of it. She was abandon'd by almost all the Lords of the Court; the Duke *de Rohan* shew'd the most Generosity on this Occasion of any of them. He had made his Compliment to the Queen, after the Treaty of *Loudon*, and was sincerely reconcil'd to her, who favourably receiv'd his Excuses for taking Arms. All he obtain'd by the Treaty, was the Assurance of the Government of *Poitou*, provided he cou'd obtain the Duke *de Sully's* Demission, which he did, and in Person solicited his Letters Patents for the Survivorship. He did it boldly enough, and at last the Queen granted it him, tho' the Change of Affairs hinder'd his enjoying it. However, in Gratitude for this Favour, he apply'd himself to the Service of that Princess with so much Fidelity, that in the end it prov'd a Ruin to himself, and consequently an unspeakable Detriment to the Reform'd Interest in *France*.

In all the Commotions which happen'd in this Minority, we have seen that the *Papists* were the Aggressors. If the *Protestants* fell in with any of

em,

'em, it was as *French Men*, not as *Hugonots*. *Mat*ters were purely Civil, and they cannot as yet be charg'd with the Wars that disturb'd the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*, or the Reign of *Lewis* the XIIIth. So far was the Court of *France* from thinking it unsafe to employ them, that there was no Law which excluded them from Offices, no Sacramental Test to oblige them to conform to the National Church. Posts of the highest Consequence, as well Civil as Military, were in the Hands of Protestant Gentlemen; the *Mareschal de Lesdiguières* was Governor of *Dauphine*, the Duke of *Sully* of *Poitou*, the Marquis of *la Force* of *Bearn*. In short, there wou'd be no end of it, if I shou'd go about to instance the several High Offices the Protestants held in *France*, till their Toleration was taken from them, as well as their Employments. 'Tis well known there were *Party Chambers*, where the Judges were compos'd of *Papists* and *Protestants*, and that even in the Most Supream Court, the Parliament of *Paris*, the Edicts allow'd a Number of them to be *Protestants*; yet how often has the Uniformity of the Religion of the Persons employ'd in Places of Profit and Trust in *France*, been urg'd as a Pretence for the same rigid Union elsewhere? True, since the Dragoon Mission commenc'd in the same Reign that abolish'd all those Edicts, took away the *Unquestionable Right* of the Reformed, and instead of Loading 'em with *Favours*, Loaded 'em with *Irons*. Since a Protestant has not been suffer'd to Live in *France*, it must be own'd a Protestant has not been employ'd there, which is the most the Enemies to Universal Liberty can make of the *French Constitution* in that Point; and 'tis to be hop'd, there is no Nation in the World besides *France*, can approve of the same Barbarity.

I cannot think that such Occasional Reflections as these, will be thought Tedious and Impertinent, in a *History* so crowded with Events as this must needs be, that in so narrow a Compass takes up a Period which a Hundred *Historians* and *Memoir Writers* have written upon.

The Duke *de Rohan's* being deny'd to pay his Duty to the Queen Mother, was not the greatest Mortification she met with, and her Son shew'd in it an Insensibility of all Natural Affection or Humane Tenderness, very little agreeable to the Character of that *Roman*, whose Vertues and Wisdom were attributed to him by his Flatterers, who compar'd him to *Lucius Junius Brutus*, the Deliverer of *Rome*. These Gentlemen pretended, that as *Brutus* counterfeited Madness, the better to conceal his Design for its Deliverance, so *Lewis* the XIIIth counterfeited Childishness to deceive his Mother, and making her think he never aim'd at Government, to prevent her Design to hinder his assuming it; a Jest we shall soon see disprov'd in the remaining Part of my *History*. Her Enemies were always buzzing it in his Ears, that his Mother and *Conchini* had Plotted to Poison him, and set up the Duke of *Anjou* on the Throne; and it made such an Impression on him, he cou'd never get it out of his Head. *Mary de Medicis* tir'd out with her Confinement in the Palace, resolv'd at last to quit a Place where a few Days before she had receiv'd the Homages of all *France*, and retire to *Moulins* in *Bourbonnois*, a Province settled upon her. She found her Son inflexible to her Prayers and Tears for an Interview, she thinking she cou'd still prevail upon him, if he wou'd but see her and hear her. Several Requests were made to him for Audience, and one particularly by the Marchioness *de Guercheville*, her Lady of Honour, who meeting the King one Day as he went through the Court of the *Louvre*, She approach'd him very Artfully with Tears in her Eyes, and said, *Will you, Sir, kill the Queen your Mother with Grief, your extream Severity casts her into such a Languishing Condition, that we are mightily afraid of the Consequences of it. Her Health is daily impair'd, and if you deprive her any longer of the Comfort of seeing you, I don't know but she may dye in our Arms.* These Remonstrances did not in the least move this Young Prince, who wou'd not so much as allow her to speak with his Confessor. *Lewis's* design was to drive her to Extre-

mity,

mity, and oblige her to desire of herself to quit the *Louvre*, that they might tell the World another Falſity, and declare as they did, the King intended only to intreat *Mary de Medicis* to withdraw for a few Months, till he had Eſtabliſh'd ſome good Order in his Government; but that the Queen being grievouſly incens'd at the Death of the Mareſchal *D'Ancre*, and not a little troubl'd that ſhe had loſt the Power of Governing, earneſtly deſir'd the King's Leave to retire. *Richlieu*, whoſe Admittance to the Council Table the Old Miniſtry oppos'd, reſolv'd to follow this Princeſs, flattering himſelf that ſhe wou'd certainly return to Court, and reward his Services in the loweſt Ebb of her Fortune. Beſides, he thought he ſhou'd by ſtaying with the Queen, become neceſſary to the King and Favourite, in being a Spy upon her. *Luines* with this View, got the King's Conſent for *Richlieu's* remaining near his Mother. This honeſt Prelate did not ſpeak his Mind plainly, but ſo expreſs'd himſelf, that *Luines* very well underſtood how it was he meant to be ſerviceable to him. *Let none, ſaid Richlieu, expect from me that I will become a Spy in the Court of the Queen Mother; I will only promiſe to retire into my Dioceſs, in caſe Her Maſteſty will not hearken to my Councils, but will follow thoſe that will diſpleaſe the King.* *Mary de Medicis* was glad that ſhe had got ſuch a Faithful Servant to attend her, and immediately put him upon the firſt Negotiation ſhe had with the Court for her removal to *Moulins*, which Place was afterwards chang'd for *Blois*. He carry'd her Demands, and got them ſettled; he drew the Speech ſhe was to make, for the very Words ſhe was to ſay, were conſider'd in Council, before the King wou'd agree to ſee her; and the Ceremony of this Interview, their Diſcourſe and their Parting being ſettled, a Day was fix'd for her Departure. As the Queen's Compliment to her Son was conſider'd by his Council, ſo was his to her by her Maſteſty's, and the Answer alike taken into Conſideration by both of them. A Pleaſant Farce which *Luines* made *Lewis* play, to prevent his Mother's ſaying any thing he ſhou'd not approve of. All the Princeſſes,

cesses, Lords and Ladies, had Permission to take their Leaves of Her Majesty, but *Vitri* and *du Hallier*, the Two Assassins that had the main Hand in the Murder of the Marechal, whom her Majesty wou'd not see. The Day of her departure being come, and the Interview well concerted, all the Court was in suspense for the Success of it. About Ten Days after the Murder of *Conchini*, the King coming from Dinner, went to the Apartment of *Mary de Medicis* with *Gaston* his Brother. The King held *Luines* by the Hand, *Cadenet* and *Brantes* the Favourite's Two Brothers, walk'd before his Majesty, and the Duke de *Chevreuse* and *Bassompierre* follow'd him. The Queen Mother's Anti-Chamber was the Place appointed for this Interview, the King and the Queen enter'd it just at the same time from two several Doors; *Mary de Medicis* us'd all her Endeavours to shew herself firm and constant, but as soon as she saw her Son, she burst out into a Flood of Tears. Astonish'd of such Weakness, she put her Handkerchief and Fan before her Face, and made up to the King, who very gravely and unconcernedly advanc'd towards her. I shall not insert her Speech, because the King's Answer will shew the Tendency of it, it being a direct Reply and almost in the same Words, after the manner of certain Modern Addressies, on certain Solemn Occasions. *Madam*, said King Lewis, with a cold and serious Air, *I am perswaded you have manag'd my Affairs with all possible Care and Affection; I am very well pleas'd with what you have done; and I thank you for it; you have desir'd to go to Blois, and I have consented to your desire; If you had been willing to have continu'd with me, I would have given you the share you ought to have had in the Administration of my Affairs, and I shall always be ready to do it whenever you please. Believe me, Madam, I shall never be wanting to Honour you, to Love you, and to Obey you as your Son, upon all Occasions whatsoever, and I assure you that I will be all my Lifetime your most Humble Son. It had been before agreed upon, that when this Speech was over, the Queen shou'd stoop to Salute him, but she supposing justly*

justly, she shou'd not have many more Opportunities to speak to him, broke in upon that Agreement, which mightily puzzled King *Lewis*. She then desir'd she might remove from *Blois* to *Moulins*, when that Castle was prepar'd for her Reception. *You may use your Pleasure*, said her Son with the same affected Gravity, *It is left to you to chuse what Town soever in my Kingdom you shall think most for your Conveniency; you shall have there as much Power as my self*. So far he came off pretty well, and acted the *Cicero* as well as he had done the *Brutus*. But his Mother continuing the Conversation, quite confounded him. *Sir*, said she, *I am going, be pleas'd to let me beg one Favour more of you, Restore Barbin my Steward to me, I do not believe you have any Design to make use of him your self*. This unexpected Request surpriz'd the King, who look'd stedfastly on the Queen his Mother, without saying a Word to her. *Sir*, added she, *I beseech you do not refuse me this Favour, 'tis perhaps the last I shall ask you*. King *Lewis* still said not a Word, and continu'd to look coldly and seriously on her, who seeing she cou'd not move him, stoop'd and Saluted him; he made her a very low Reverence, turn'd away, and went from her. Then her Majesty kiss'd the Duke of *Anjou*, who said little or nothing, and *Luines* coming up to make his Compliment, she receiv'd him very kindly, and recommended *Barbin* to him. While she was intreating the Favourite to make use of his Interest with his Master, to obtain a thing of no Moment, *Lewis* being impatient at so long a Discourse, cry'd out four or five times, *Luines, Luines*, which serv'd to deliver his Favourite from the Perplexity he was in. He acquainted her Majesty he was indispensibly oblig'd immediately to wait on the King who call'd on him. Then it was she gave a free Course to her Tears; her Grief was such, she was not able to cast her Eyes upon the Lords and the Officers, who came to pay their Obedience to her: She presently took Coach, attended by the Two Daughters of *France*, the Princesses and First Ladies of the Court, who waited on her Two Leagues out of *Paris*. Her Son

was

was more resolute, he look'd out of the Window to see her go away, and ran also to the Balcony of the Gallery of the *Louvre*, that he might follow her with his Eyes as long as he cou'd. When she was gone, he presently forgot the Part of *Brutus* which he was to play after the Dissembled one was over, and instead of delivering his Subjects from the Grievances they complain'd of, he return'd to the Part he play'd before, to his Childish Diversions, so unworthy his High Quality, as may be seen in *Bassompierre's* Memoirs. *Luines* willingly entertain'd him in that Temper; the less he render'd himself fit for Government, the more wou'd the Advantages of it fall to him, with the Authority. The Favourite was well pleas'd to Govern while the King pass'd his Time in Drawing, Beating the Drum, Winding the Horn, and making little Waterworks with the Quill of a Pen. Having told *Bassompierre* one Day he resolv'd to begin again to Wind the Horn, and spend a whole Day in that Exercise, *Bassompierre* reply'd, Take Care, Sir, it may do you a great deal of Harm; 'tis said Charles the IXth broke one of his Veins in Winding the Horn, and that he Dy'd of that Accident. You are mistaken, reply'd King Lewis, the Difference he had with Queen Catherine his Mother, was the real Cause of his Death; if he had not follow'd the ill Advice which the Marechal Retz gave him to return to Queen Catherine, then at Monceaux, he wou'd not have Dy'd so Young. The Marquiss de Montpouillan, Son of the Marquiss de la Force, who was a Rival of *Luines* in the King's Favour, till his Religion being to be suppress'd, it gave *Luines* entirely the Preference, applauded what the King had said, as if it had came from an Oracle. Well Sir, says he, to *Bassompierre*, You did not imagine his Majesty knew so much: No, in good Faith, Sir, reply'd the other in a great Surprize, I did not think the King was so knowing. One may perceive by what the King said of Catherine de Medicis, that his Favourites and Flatterers kept him in continual Apprehensions of his Mother's Design to make away with him. These were the only Lessons they inspir'd him with.

with. As for Government and Politicks, they never intended he shou'd stand in need of them, and all their Care was to confirm him in his Fear and Hatred of his Mother. *Bassompierre*, and those of the Courtiers who had stood very well in her good Graces, did not so much as name her before the King; they wou'd not venture his Displeasure, to attempt the doing her any Service. Such is the Gratitude, such the Honour and Humanity of Courts, such the Filial Duty and Natural Affection of weak Kings. Since *Lewis* the XIIIth was incapable of Governing himself, his Mother, doubtless, cou'd have taken off that Charge from him, as well as a Petty Gentleman of *Provence*, *Luines* being no more, make the best of him, tho' both he, and his Brother *Cadenet*, were made Dukes and Peers.

Intending in the Prosecution of this *History*, to observe by what Steps the *Protestant Religion* in *France* was so destroy'd, as we see it in our Days, that there are hardly any Remains of it left there, except in the Breasts of some Dissembled Catholicks, I must not forget that the Assembly which they Summon'd to meet at *Rochelle*, upon *D' Epernon's* Attempt, did not break up after that Duke had given it over. This Assembly, according to a Regulation made at *Saumur*, consisted of the Deputies of the Provincial Council of Five Neighbouring Provinces, meeting on that Emergency without any Warrant from Court, who therefore wou'd not give a favourable Answer to those Deputies, nor allow them to hold a General Assembly, which left that at *Rochelle*, with the Character not only of a Seditious Conventicle with the *Papists*, but of an Unwarrantable Meeting with the greatest Part of the Protestants themselves. The Discontented Lords courted them, and it was generally believ'd the Duke de *Vendome* design'd to put himself at the Head of 'em, he having an Agent on purpose at *Rochelle*, to treat with them. It was not likely the Reform'd shou'd obtain any valuable Favour of the Court, or that those they obtain'd wou'd be lasting. As the Power of *France* gain'd of that of the House of *Austria*, the Court of
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Rome was mindful of their Interests, and cultivated the strictest Correspondence with that of France, by which means nothing was done there without their Consent or Sufferance. The Queen had been oblig'd to give the Cardinal de Joyeuse ample Instructions before the Assembly at Saumur, to excuse what had been done in favour of the Reform'd, upon the Account of Necessity either in Confirming their Edicts, or allowing them to Assemble. And such being the State of their *Unquestionable Right*, as the King call'd it, 'tis no wonder that the Court of France, when they were not afraid of the Protestants, oblig'd that of Rome in Persecuting and Oppressing them. The Rochelle Deputies having met with an ill Reception at Court, the Assembly there Invited the Provinces to send their Members to it, and compose a General Assembly, publishing a Manifesto of the Infraction of their Edicts, and shewing the Necessity they had to Assemble. But upon the News of Conchini's Death, they took hold of that Opportunity to break up an Assembly which the Reform'd did not generally approve of. They sent a Deputation to the King, to Congratulate the recovering of his Authority, but his Majesty wou'd not see them, nor own the Assembly to be Lawful; however good Words were given 'em. They were desir'd to behave themselves as good Subjects ought to do, to separate forthwith, and retire into their respective Provinces, assuring themselves the King wou'd do for 'em what was Just and Reasonable. Upon this, they drew up their *Cahiers*, which as I have already observ'd, are *Petitions* and *Demands*, and broke up, having resolv'd to protect the Church of Bearn, then terribly threaten'd by the *Papists*; and indeed it was the first Reform'd Church of France, that the King suppress'd by Arms, as will be seen hereafter.

The end of this *Famous Revolution*, in the Court of Lewis the XIIIth, was the Death of Galigai, D'Ancre's Wife, of whose hard Usage something has been said already. She had deliver'd up Jewels to the Value of Three Millions, but that did not satisfy Luines, he must have all, and he cannot have it unless

less she dyes a Criminal. To this end an Act was sent to the Parliament to Try her, and to Impeach her Husband's Memory. The Parliament appointed *Verdun* the first President, *Seguier* President *au Mortier*, and Two Counsellors, *Courtin* and *Deslandes* to Arraign them, to hear the Witneses, and make such Informations as are requisite upon such Occasions. But these Four Counsellors refus'd to be present at the reading the Commission, which they look'd upon as Cruel and Unjust. People began to reflect on what had happen'd; *Luines's* Precipitation in advancing himself to Dignities and Riches, was already the Subject of their Clamours, and as they grew angry with him and his Two Brothers, they cool'd in their Resentments against *Conchini*, and his Family. The most penetrating and Judicious said openly, instead of one *Conchini*, they shou'd in a little time find Three, in *Luines*, *Cadenet* and *Brantes*. They made this Political Pun upon them, lodging them at the Sign of the *Three Kings*. It was not sufficient that the New Favourite had enrich'd himself with the Mareschal *D'Ancre's* best Spoils, that he had his Office of First Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and his Government of *Normandy*. The Wife of that murder'd Mareschal must be formally Condemn'd, to secure him the Possession of what Estates he had purchas'd in *France*, and his Memory be blasted as a Traytor, to give a Colour to the Cruelties exercis'd on them as Guilty of High Treason, which not only made the Forfeiture of their Estates and Goods, and the Grants of them to him Legal, but justify'd the Assassins in their Assassination. *Galigai* was first examin'd at the *Louvre* about her Treasure, and pretended Crimes, the greatest of which was Witchcraft. She said then, she had deliver'd up to the Value of Twelve Hundred Thousand Crowns in Jewels; she was so stript of all things, that when they remov'd her from the *Louvre* to the *Bastile*, the Wife of *Perfan*, Captain of the Place, was forc'd to lend her Two Shifts. The Prince of *Conde* was then in the same Prison, and commiserated the deplorable Condition to which this Rich

Rich and Powerful Woman was reduc'd. *Galigai* said he, *Is not Guilty of the Disorders of the State, the Fault is only to be laid on the Ambition of her Husband.* The Prince had been Imprison'd by the Advice and Management of *Conchini*, who ow'd all his Power to that of his Wife, yet his Highness cou'd not help doing the miserable Woman so much Justice, as to own her Guiltless of those Disorders, for which her Enemies prosecuted her with so much Malice and Cruelty. From the *Bastille*, this Lady, the Widow of a Mareschal of *France*, the Favourite of the Widow of *Henry IV*, Mother to the King then Reigning, was remov'd to the Common Goal of the Palace, as has been before hinted. As she was going into it, she cry'd out, *Alas ! I am undone*, which, my Author, says she might have guess'd without being a *Witch*, the Prison being a Place where those Prisoners are kept who expect to receive their Sentence of Condemnation. She brought with her to the Goal, but a small Bundle of Linnen, and about Fourscore Crowns, which were taken from her at the very Door of the Prison. An *Italian* Woman who waited on her, and her Apothecary, whom she wanted, because of the ill State of her Health, had been admitted to her in the *Bastille*, but were not suffer'd to attend her in the Common Goal. Notwithstanding this monstrous Barbarity, she kept up her Constancy and Greatness of Soul ; she spoke so well in her own Defence, before her wicked and corrupted Judges, that every one who heard her applauded her. *Byron* Dy'd like a Woman, said they, and *Galigai* braves it like a Man. There was nothing laid to her Charge but what may be said of all Favourites, that she did not so make use of her Power as to give no Body Cause of Offence, except that she had a Cock Sacrific'd as a sort of Inchantment, which had respect to the Life of the King. As Disconsolate as this Lady was, and had Reason to be, she cou'd not help smiling when her Judges gravely interrogated her about the pretended Sacrifice of a Cock. It was not so when they ask'd her several Questions relating to the Death of the late King, they seem'd to suppose she was an Accomplice

Accomplice in it with the Queen Mother, and that *Mary de Medicis* and she had hinder'd a strict Inquiry into the matter. *Galigai* wept bitterly, when she perceiv'd they endeavour'd to load her with so horrid a Treason of which she had no manner of Cognizance. But the Life of this Woman was not enough to satisfy her Enemies, they must blacken her too, to take off the *Odium* of their Proceedings against her. She told her Judges, that Hatred and Animosity had blinded them so much, they went beyond the Bounds of Honour and Decency. Never were Men more harsh, nor seem'd more insensible of the Misfortunes of a Lady, whose Innocence was *Visible to all the World*. She represented to them her Infirmities, which threatned her with an approaching Dropsy; but neither her Prayers nor her Tears had any effect upon them. And it was not likely that they shou'd pity her for Infirmities, who were taking the shortest and surest way to Cure them all. There was nothing Criminal in the Charge against her, of which there was the least solid Proof. The Parliament of *Paris* had no Opinion of the Crime of Witchcraft, all Christian Countries have Laws that make it Capital, but really lay aside the Barbarous Superstition of the *Monkish* Ages, we shall find very little Reason to believe those that have dy'd as Witches, have deserv'd so to dye. As to her engrossing Places, her turning out such as had them, and putting in her own Creatures, Was th's enough for those that came in after her to have her Burnt? Who wou'd be a Favourite on these Terms? What she said in her own Justification on that Head, is more than many such Favourites as she was, cou'd say for themselves on the like Occasion. *I have sought Opportunities*, said she, *to oblige many Persons, and I have got no Benefit at all by it; if I have receiv'd some Presents, the Queen Mother first gave me Leave to accept of them. And tho' you cou'd Convict me of having receiv'd Money from those whom I have serv'd with my Interest, wou'd that be a Legal and sufficient Reason to Condemn me? Do all the Ladies of the Court give their Sollicitations for nothing? I have*

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remitted some Money to Rome and to Florence: Is that a Crime against the Law? I bought of the Duke de Guise for Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, the Effects which the Cardinal de Jojeuse left at Rome. Can any Body blame me for that? Let us look into the History of Favourites, shall we meet with one that wou'd not accept of Presents, that wou'd not dispose of Offices, that wou'd not do more than this Lady is accus'd of? And yet this certainly was her greatest Fault. All the Evidence against her, as to the other Crimes, was *Frivolous and Ridiculous*, as the Advocate General *Servien* confess'd one Day to his Friends. *Deslandes*, one of the Judges, who Sum'd up the Casue, cou'd never be prevail'd with to deliver his Opinion for her Death. Some of the others thought it was sufficient to Condemn her to Banishment and a Fine. But, says my Historian, *The Sollicitations and Intrigues of Luines* prevail'd upon the greater Number, and she was Condemn'd to Dye upon a Scaffold; her Head to be Cut off, her Body to be Burnt, and her Ashes to be thrown away, to be a Sport for the Wind. He goes on: *The Advocate General* was asham'd that the Parliament of Paris, who Condemn no Body to dye upon Accusation of Witchcraft, and justly look upon it as foolish and extravagant, shou'd Condemn a Lady, *Mareschal of France*, for a Witch. *Servien* us'd his best Endeavours to preserve the Honour of an Assembly of which he was himself a Member, and all he alledg'd to that purpose, prov'd still more fully the Corruption and Wickedness of the Magistrates. It was whisper'd in their Ears, as from the King, that he did not think his Life in Safety, unless *Galigai* dy'd. *Courtin*, one of her Judges, had not the same Integrity as *Deslandes*, he was Venal and Corrupted, making no Scruple to buy with a more *Henious and Crying Injustice*, as my Author expresses himself, the Ambassy of Venice for his Son, which had been refus'd him a little while before. *Galigai* seeing she was Condemn'd, pleaded her Belly tho' she had said in Prison, her Husband the *Mareschal*, had had no Conjugal Commerce with her for Two Years before his Murder. *You forget your self, Ma-*
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dami, said some of the Judges, *you have declar'd that your Husband has not lain with you these Two Tears; what will the World think of you then, if it be True that you are with Child.* Upon which she recover'd herself, and without desiring the Search of the Midwives, she ingenuously confess'd, that the desire of prolonging her Life, had forc'd that Falshood from her, without having reflected upon what she had said before. This Cruel Sentence was Pronounc'd and Executed the Eighth of July. Never had been seen such a Throng of People at the Place of Execution, call'd *La Grave*. The Lady Mareschal was expos'd to all the Ignominy that the Vilest Malefactor cou'd suffer. They spar'd her nothing of the Infamy of the Punishment: She was carry'd to *La Grave* in a Cart, and her Behaviour was so Brave, and so much like a Christian, that her most inveterate Enemies admir'd her. When she was on the Scaffold, *She most Solemnly Protested she Dy'd Innocent of the Crimes her Judges Condemn'd her for.* How did it pierce the Spectators, to hear her *Give God Thanks*, with great Fervour of Zeal and Humility, for that his Providence had depriv'd her of all the *Grandeurs* of this World, of which she had not made a good Use. That he had granted her the Grace to suffer a Death more Glorious, and more Conformable to that of JESUS CHRIST, than such a Sinner as she was had deserv'd? She omitted no Practice of Devotion ordinary to those of her Religion, and all there present were mov'd by her Piety and Resignation to the Will of God. The Multitude, who had Curs'd her and her Husband Two Months before, who had so Inhumanely treated the Corpse of *Conchini*, cou'd not now help weeping at the Death of his Widow. The Sentence was Executed, her Head Cut off, her Body Burnt, and her Ashes scatter'd in the Air.

Thus fell a Lady, who had been from her Infancy belov'd by the greatest Princess in Europe: There is something so moving in her Catastrophe, that I cannot think this Detail of it will be thought tedious. The Reflections that will arise from the Fate of so

Famous a Favourite, are so Natural, that it would be Impertinence in me to prevent the Reader, who will take Pleasure in making them for himself. She is blam'd for being *Arrogant and Covetous*. Let me ask those that blame her for an Instance of a Confidence of a mighty Queen, that was not Proud of her Power, and did not make use of it to enrich herself and her Family. This was done by degrees, but *Luines, Conchini* tho' Dead, being also Condemn'd, at once possess'd himself of the Fortune that was so much envy'd in *D' Ancre* and in his Wife. The King gave him a Grant of all they possess'd, both in *France* and *Italy*. "By a New *Chicanry* of the Law," says my Author, the Parliament of *Paris* declar'd, "That all the Estates belonging to *Conchini* and his Wife, out of the Kingdom, were Confiscated to the King, as being Purchas'd with the Money that had been taken out of the King's Treasury." *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, at first oppos'd the Grant the King had made to his Favourite, of the Fiefs purchas'd in *France* by the Marechal *D' Ancre*. He maintain'd, that according to Law, they ought to be reunited to the King's Demesnes, and consequently were *Unalienable*. But alas the *French* Probity was not then Powerful enough to resist a Powerful Temptation. The Favourite presented him with the Rich Bishoprick of *Lisieux*, worth 50000 Livres a Year, and the Grant was not long without the Seals.

The only Son of the Unfortunate *Conchini* and *Galigai*, was degraded from his Title of being Noble, and shut up in the Castle of *Nantz*, but at last he was set at Liberty, retir'd into his own Country, and dy'd at *Florence*, where 'tis said he still enjoy'd Fourteen Thousand Crowns a Year, his Father and Mother having redeem'd their Estates, which before were encumber'd. The Family of *Conchini* was Extinct by the Death of this Young Man in 1631. He was much esteem'd for his good Qualities, and had his Father and Mother enjoy'd their High Fortune under any Government but a *French* Minority, 'tis probable it had not suffer'd such a surprizing Change,

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nor been such a Terrible Example to all the Favourites and Confidants of Minors and weak Princes.

There was something in the Characters of *Conchini* and *Galigai*, that might have taken off from the Envy of their Elevation and Riches. The one was good Humour'd, the other Generous. She had serv'd People for nothing, an effect of Generosity seldom known at Courts; and yet on a sudden are they reduc'd from the highest State of Humane Grandeur, to the lowest Abyss of Misery. There have been Examples of this kind before, *Rome* furnishes us with a *Sejanus* among several others; the Influence they have had on those that have been possess'd of the same Favour since, may shew us plainly enough what will be the effect of such Lessons, to all that are as happy as *Conchini* was. They cannot imagine 'tis possible for such Greatness to be approach'd by Misfortunes, and there is nothing in the Godhead of Kings which they more depend upon, than the Eternity of their Favour, tho' it is not to be doubted but Events may happen, when Kings are not so much Masters of their Authority and of their Wills, as to be willing or able to protect them.

What was the Consequence of this Change of the Ministry in France, One of the First Artifices *Luines* made use of to impose upon the People, as a French Historian tells us, was to take in Appearance some Measures contrary to those of the Queen Mother's Ministers. *Mary de Medicis* had been against assisting the Duke of Savoy: The King now he Governs is for it. An Assembly of the *Notables* was Summon'd to advise about the most proper Methods to reform the Irregularities of the Government, which Assembly being next to that of the States General, the Talk of it only was very Popular. However, *Lewis* the XIIIth was no more King in reality after the Change, than he was before. *Luines* suffer'd no Man of any Genius to be near his Person, nor any one of those who had any Engagements with the Queen. To strengthen himself by the Alliance of some Powerful Family, he marry'd the Daughter of the Duke de *Montbazou*, of the House of *Rohan*, but

the Duke of that Name, out of a Punctilio of Generosity, keeping firm in the Interest of *Mary de Medicis*, as has been before-mention'd, he made no Advantage of the Relation the Favourite had enter'd into with his Family, either for himself or the Reform'd. *Luines* and his Creatures exclaim'd against the Administration of the Queen Mother, who they alledg'd suffer'd herself to be blindly led by the Pope's Nuntio, and the *Spanish* Ambassador; yet the Favourite not long after, shew'd himself as Blind to the Conduct of the Court of *Madrid*: It being a Common Practice in such Men as he, when they come first to Power, to rail at all the Politicks of their Predecessors, and yet imitate them as soon as their Railing is forgotten. They overturn every thing in the beginning of their Administration, as if there was nothing tolerable in all those that went before them; and when the Cause of the Revolution is out of People's Minds, they insensibly fall in to the same Measures, by which the others with more Honour and more Wisdom, serv'd themselves and the Publick.

'Twas a Wise Saying of the Duke de Rohan, That the Absolute Reign of Favourites is the Ruin of a State. Upon which he reflects thus further: "They change every thing according to their Interests; they are the Occasion of forming Factions, and disturbing the publick Tranquility, which will appear fully in the Course of this History. When *Luines* had fix'd his Friends and Creatures in the Council, and about the King's Person, he thought of securing his Fortune by some Powerful Alliance, and aspir'd to no less a Match, than *Mademoiselle de Vendome*, Natural Daughter of *Henry* the IVth, by the Favour *Gabriele d' Estrees*; but he had not yet so far subjected the Spirits of the *French* Nobility, that they could see him pretend to the King's Sister, without Envy and without Clamour. For which Reason, he moderated his Ambition, and, as has been said, contented himself with a Daughter of the Duke de *Montbazou*, a Younger Branch of the House of *Rohan*. The next thing he did, was to make sure of the King's
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only Brother *Gaston*, Duke of *Argon*, whose Governor he remov'd, and put him into the Hands of a Creature of his, the Count *de Lude*, a Man of Pleasure and Indolence. There are never wanting Informers to blacken the Reputation of Men of Honour and Merit, when the Sovereign gives himself up entirely to the Government of Men of none. Plots will be daily invented, and the Ears of ill Ministers are always open to such wicked Intelligencers, they being in continual Fear of the Fate they deserve. A Gentleman of the King's Household, call'd *Gignier*, finding *Luines* was very susceptible of ill Impressions of the Great Lords of the Kingdom, form'd a Conspiracy of them by his own Invention, and accus'd the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Dukes *de Vendome*, *Nevers*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne* and *Chevreuse*, the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, the President *Jay*, and at last the Duke *de Guise*, of being concern'd in it. Nothing hinder'd their being Seiz'd and Try'd, but the Dignity of their Quality, and the Strength of their Interest. *Deageant*, who was more Cunning than *Luines*, wou'd not consent that so many Illustrious Persons shou'd be Apprehended on the Report of an Informer; and the Duke *de Vendome* having Invited the King to stand Godfather to a Child of his, *Gignier* pretended he was to be Poyson'd at that Entertainment. The King feigning himself Sick, did not go, and the Duke suspecting something extraordinary, declar'd to *Luines* and *Deageant*, he believ'd *Gignier* had done him ill Offices, upon which *Luines* told him the whole matter. The Informer, or if you will in the more modern Phrase the *Lion*, *Gignier*, was Convicted, Condemn'd, and Executed, having made a full Confession of his Treason.

During these Changes at Court, the Roman Catholics all over the Kingdom, began to Insult the Protestants, and where they had Power, to deprive them of the Benefits and Privileges of their Edicts. The Jesuit *Arnoux*, newly made Confessor to the King, in the room of Father *Coton*, who had been Confessor to *Henry* the IVth, in a Sermon preach'd

at Court, asserted that the Texts cited by the *Protestants*, in their Confession of Faith, were falsify'd, and when the Ministers of *Charenton* answer'd him, and prov'd the contrary in a Treatise, which with great Eloquence and Spirit they address'd to the King, the Book was suppress'd, and those Ministers commanded not to Dedicate any Book to his Majesty without Leave. This Partial Act was follow'd by an Unjust and Violent one, the depriving the States of the Principality of *Bearn*, of their Rights, the annexing it to the Crown of *France*; the restoring all Church Lands to the *Papists*, which had been appropriated to Religious Uses, upon the Reformation's being receiv'd in that Principality by its Sovereign, Queen *Jane d' Albret*, Mother of *Henry* the IVth, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the States, of the Assembly of *Bearn*, and the General Assembly of *France*. The Marquis *de la Foret*, Governour of *Bearn*, was a *Protestant*, and being at Court, when the Edicts of Restauration of the Church Lands, and Union of *Bearn* to *France* were on Foot, did his utmost to prevent them, till *Luines* gave him the hopes of a Marechal's Batoon, and then he not only acquiesc'd in them, but promis'd to see them executed. Such is the Power of Ambition and Interest, such the Protection that Protestants are to expect from their Chiefs, when Honours and Riches tempt 'em to betray them. I shall not meddle with any Part of the *French History*, which their *Historians* have treated of from their Publick Memoirs, and with the Countenance at least of their Court; but those only that they have sunk, because they serve to set the Arbitrary Measures of this, and the following Reign in their True Light; because the Royal Authority was not at the Height it now Glories in, and the *French* had not as yet learn'd to be in Love with Slavery.

I have already made some mention of the Contempt with which the Marechal *de Lesdisguieres* receiv'd the King's Command, not to assist the Duke of *Savoy*. The Governour of *Milan* had in the Year 1617, taken *Vercell*, and the Court of *France* thought

thought fit to interpose so far in Favour of *Savoy*, as to order the *Mareschal* to march to his Assistance, but forbade him to proceed to Hostilities, his Orders confining him to an Appearance of War. The *Mareschal* on the contrary, advanc'd to the Frontiers, and tho' *Monfieur Bullion*, a Counsellor of State, was dispatch'd to him, to require him not to act against the *Spaniards*, he beat up their Quarters, and took 3000 Men Prisoners. The Ministers at the *French Court*, disown'd him in it, and threaten'd to take away his Government of *Dauphiny* for his Disobedience, but whether they were at bottom afraid of him, or whether they were pleas'd with the Blow he had given the *Spaniards*, they contented themselves with sending him fresh Orders to forbear Hostilities, and to repass the Mountains. There was at that time, a Treaty on Foot, for an Accommodation of the Differences between the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Savoy*, and his Confederates. Cardinal *Ludovisio* assisted at it, on behalf of the Pope and the *Mareschal de Lesdisguieres*, tho' a Protestant, cou'd not handsomely avoid paying him a Visit, at the end of which, he said to the Cardinal, *I hope in a little while to see you Pope*; the Cardinal reply'd, *I am very much oblig'd to you, but you wish me a Dignity for which I am not at all Qualify'd*; *I pray God you may become a Catholic*. The *Mareschal* answer'd smilingly, *I promise to be so when you are Pope*. *Lesdisguieres* is said to have spoken this in Raillery, for that he cou'd not imagine the Cardinal *Ludovisio*, who, though an Old Man, was the Youngest Cardinal, shou'd succeed *Paul* the Vth. However, so it happen'd, and the New Pope *Gregory* the XVth, wrote very obligingly to *Lesdisguieres*, to demand his Promise of him, which he as obligingly answer'd; and whatever the Protestant Ministers and Consistory cou'd say to him to the contrary, he gave the Pope the Title of *Holy Father*, and his *Holiness*: But the Compliment was only preparatory to that pretended Conversion which he resolv'd to sell as Dear as he cou'd to the Court of *France*, who mightily press'd it.

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The next Myſterious Event of this Reign and Miniſtry, will ſhew us what a Happineſs *France* enjoy'd under them, and the Bleſſings they may expect from a weak King or a Minority. The Duke *de Rohan*, who was heartily reconcil'd to the Queen Mother, watch'd all Opportunities to advance her Intereſt, and to inſinuate to *Luines*, how much more it wou'd be for his Advantage to eſpouſe it, than that of the Prince of *Conde*, who courted him. The Duke's Reaſons are too particular to be inſerted in ſo *General a Hiſtory*, their Weight we may imagine from the Character of the Author, one of the greateſt Men then Living. The Favourite, ſeem'd to approve of them, and the Duke found Means to let *Barbin*, who was in the *Baſtille*, know what he had done for the Service of his Miſtreſs. *Bournonville*, who Commanded there under *Perſan*, was well affected to *Mary de Medicis*, and convey'd *Barbin's* Letters to her: In them, he adviſ'd the Queen to write to the King, to *Luines*, and to the Duke *de Monbazon*; to the King, in a ſoft, reſpectful Manner, to juſtify her Conduct, and to the Two others, to engage them to interceed for her. The Letter which was to be ſent to his Majeſty, was drawn up by *Barbin*, and Correſted by the Duke *de Rohan*; *Barbin* ſent it to a Biſhop in whom he confiſed, to be convey'd to the Queen Mother at *Blois*; but this Biſhop carry'd it to *Deageant*, who apprehending he ſhou'd be ruin'd, if the Queen return'd to Court, reſolv'd not only to break off this Intrigue, but to make uſe of this Faſe Prelate to deſtroy *Barbin*, and all the Friends to *Mary de Medicis*. The Biſhop went ſeveral times to *Blois*, carry'd Letters to the Queen, and brought back her Answers, in which there was nothing but what was Innocent, tending to procure an Honourable Reconciliation between the Biſhop and his Mother. This not doing *Deageant's* Buſineſs, he got the Biſhop to tell the Queen, that *Bournonville* doubt- ing whether her Majeſty cou'd ever forgive the *Marſchal de Vitry's* Brother-in Law, ſhe wou'd do well to ſend him a Ring in Token of her good Will to- wards

wards him. *Mary de Medicis* who lov'd to act like a Queen in all Things, thought she had not one that was worth his Acceptance, but promis'd to buy a Jewel at *Paris* to be given to *Bournonville*. The Bishop represented the ill Consequence of a Delay in so nice an Affair; the Queen took a Ring off of one of her Women's Fingers and deliver'd it to the Prelate, who carry'd it to *Deageant*. The latter got one made by it, which the Bishop gave to *Bournonville*, *Deageant* keeping the Original. And *Luynes* being dissuaded by him from embracing the Queen Mother's Party, was prevail'd upon to make use of that Ring to ruin that Princess's Servants. He shew'd it the King, and made him believe that several great Lords had conspir'd to Master the *Louvre*, to recal the Queen Mother, to put all the Authority into her Hands, and that the Conspirators wore such a Sort of Rings as that, which came from *Blois*.

There needed no more to Frighten the Young and Credulous *Lewis*, and give him an ill Impression of several Lords of his Court, which confirm'd the Authority of the Favourite and his Creatures. Another Adventure happen'd about the same Time, which contributed also very much towards it. *Deageant* finds out another Plot for the Queen's Return to Court, and deliver'd to the King and Council a Packet of Letters, which was said to be found in the River *Marne*. These Letters were written by the Great Duke of *Tuscany's* Agent, to the Dutches of *Lorraine*; the Substance of 'em was an Intrigue for the Return of the Queen Mother; importing, that the Agent had gain'd several Persons near the King's Person, and in Confidence of the Favourite. Besides the Men of Quality mention'd in the Letters, two Brothers *Florentines* call'd *Siti*, the Lady *Mareschal D'Ancre's* Domesticks were named, as also *Durand* a Frenchman, *Bournonville* and *La Ferte*, a Servant of the Duke of *Rohans*. This Packet was suppos'd to be betray'd to *Deageant* by the Bishop, who betray'd the Ring, and that the Pretence of finding of it in the *Marne*,
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was us'd only to conceal his Treachery. *Perfan* was turn'd out of the Government of the *Bastille*, and he and his Brother *Bourbonville* put in Prison, *Durand* and the Two *Siti's* were apprehended, *Barbin's* Chamber was search'd, and his Papers seiz'd, as were also several of *Mary de Medices's* Domesticks.

The Parliament had Orders to Prosecute them, but they were so ashamed of the Injustice done the *Mareschal D' Ancre*, that they were not dispos'd to do blindly whatever the Favourite would have them; that was, however of little Service to the Prisoners, for there was now a Custom set up in *France* which will give one a Lively Idea of the Justice and Clemency of the Court. When the Judges who were legally to Try those that were accus'd, did not incline to Condemn such as the Ministers wanted to get rid off, Commissioners were appointed to try them, who depending entirely on the Favourites; never fail'd of making a Sacrifice of Justice to their Pleasure. They found out a Hundred Tricks to oppress the Innocent, *A Detestable Invention*, says my Author, a Frenchman, of those who wou'd put Princes above the most Ancient, and the most Sacred Laws. *Durand* and the Two *Siti's* had nothing brought in Proof against them, but some Verses found in their Closets against *Luines*, and consequently, as his Accusers said, against the King. For as the same Writer has it, *As soon as you say any Thing against the Favourite or against the Minister, it will surely be pretended that you attack the King*. This was the Maxim of the Ministers of *France* in the former Reign; and for those Verses which never had been made Publick, and were safely shut up in their Pocket Books, were these Three Wretches condemn'd to Death; *Barbin* had had the same Fate, but *Luines* was afraid of further exasperating the Queen Mother, and so he was only banish'd the Kingdom for Life.

Those who lay the Foundation of their Fortune on that of a Favourite, who Sacrifice their Understanding, Honour and Conscience to flatter a Man

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in Power, and vilify a Man in Disgrace, let them with Attention read the following Story of Monsieur de Richlieu, Bishop of *Lucon*, who, as we have already observ'd, retir'd with the Queen Mother; and finding the Favourite not so well dispos'd as he expected to accept of his Service, *Luines* being afraid of a Man of his Boundless Ambition and Enterprising Genius, the good Bishop affect'd to apply himself to Books and to make himself Popular, answer'd that beforemention'd Treatise written by the Ministers of *Cherenton*. This did not so defend him from the Jealousy and Ill Offices of the Favourite, but that when he had scarce been a Month at *Blois*, he receiv'd Orders to retire to his Priory of *Coussai* in *Anjou*; which Orders he obey'd, affecting a Disposition to spend the remainder of his Life in Study and Devotion. *Luines* was so little satisfy'd of his Sincerity in it, that he took care to have his Motions well watch'd, and discover'd his Caballing in *Poitou*, where he privately Lifted Men for the Service of the Queen Mother. It was therefore resolv'd to lend him farther off, and he having Intimation of this Resolution from his Brother to prevent the Disgrace he was threaten'd with, retir'd to his Diocels of *Lucon*, which not satisfying the Court, he was commanded to reside out of the Kingdom at *Avignon* in the beginning of the Year 1518. *Richlieu* complain'd to the Pope that he was hindred from taking Care of his Flock; his future Conduct will show how much his Flock was at his Heart, and tho the Pope remonstrated to the French Ambassador, that the using the Bishop of *Lucon* so, was contrary to the Rights of the Church, yet the French Ministers took no Notice of it, and *Richlieu* was forc'd to remain some time in his Exile.

Luines to gain the People's Affection, propos'd a Convention, which the French call *Assemblée de Notables*, consisting of Persons chosen among the Clergy, the Nobility and Men of the Long Robe. The Favourite appointed the Meeting to be at *Rouen*, that he

he might have an Opportunity to take Possession of his Post of Lieutenant General of Normandy, and not lose sight of his Master; nothing being more Fatal to Favourites than Absence. The Presence was to consult this Assembly about the Answers the King should give to the Cahiers of the States General, and to redress other Grievances. The Dissimulation of Courtiers towards their Clients is by long Custom become no more a Vice, or at least a very Pardonable one. But their Dissembling with the Almighty; their taking his Sacred Name in vain, and making their Master appeal to the Majesty of Heaven for the Performance of Thing they intend shall never be perform'd, has something in it so tremendously Wicked, that one does not look on 'em so much with Envoy as with Horror. See then what *Lewis* the XIIIth. is made to say in the Edict that was put forth for Summoning this Assembly. *We protest before the Living God that we have no other End nor Intention but his Honour and the Advantage of our Subjects; we conjure all those that we Summons to this Assembly, and most earnestly enjoin them by the Legal Power that God has given us over them, that without any Humane Respect; without Fear of Offending any one whatsoever, without any Hopes of Pleasing any Body, they will sincerely give us such Advice as they think the most Wholesome, and the most Agreeable to the Welfare of the State.* And yet it is very plain, that *Luines* had no Design to make any other use of this Convention than what has been before mention'd to amuse the People with Hopes of Redress, and to take Possession of his Government. For after they had set Quarrelling about Precedency about Five Weeks, the Court on a sudden departed for *Paris*, under Pretence of the Season incommoding the King's Health, leaving all the Publick Grievances on the same Foot as when they came from the *Louvre*.

The Royal Authority so much insisted upon in *France*, being then entirely in the Hands of a Minor, the King Seventeen Years old, and of Years

to assume the Government, let us observe what Passive Obedience was paid by his Subjects *Frenchmen* and *Papists*, and by one of the greatest Bigots and greatest Lords, the Duke *de Epemon*. He had solicited a Cardinal's Cap for his Youngest Son the Arch-Bishop of *Thoulouse*; but the Duke *de Retz's* Brother to *Gondi* Bishop of *Paris*, obtain'd it by means of *Luines* and *Deageant*, whom he courted with slavish Submission and Flattery. This Affront exasperated the Proud Duke *de Epemon*, and the Queen Mother's Friends did their utmost to inflame him the more against the Favourite, who on his Part thought himself so sure of the King's Favour, that he valu'd not *De Epemon's* Resentment; and on the contrary took occasion to mortify him daily, as he was Colonel General of the Infantry, by abridging him of several Prerogatives of his Post: This Usage soon occasion'd a Rupture, to the great Joy of *Mary de Medicis*. The Occasion of shewing it, was on Application of the Duke's *de Montmerenci*, *de Uzez*, *de Monbazon*, *de Retz*, and others, who relenting that *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, took Place of them, represented the Injustice done to their Quality, to the Duke *d' Epemon*, the Eldest of the Dukes and Peers in the King's Council, and he immediately assur'd them, that he wou'd Right himself and them at the first Opportunity, which was a Solemn Mass, said in the Church of *St. Germain d' L' Auxerrois*, before the Court at *Easter*, where *Du Vair* taking his Seat as he was wont to do, above the Dukes and Peers, the Duke *d' Epemon* took him by the Arm, and turn'd him out of it. *Luines* took this Affront offer'd to *Du Vair*, his Creature, as done to himself, and represented the Duke *d' Epemon* to the King, as a Person dissatisfy'd that he had not the Share he aspir'd to, in the Administration that had form'd a Party at Court against his Authority, and put himself at the Head of the Dukes and Peers, under Pretence of asserting their Rights, against the Pretensions of the Keeper of the Seals. This made a strong Impression on the Mind of a weak Prince, jealous

jealous of his Authority. However, *Lewis* dissimulated his Resentment, waiting for a more favourable Occasion to shew it. He commanded the Duke and *Du Vair* to attend him, in order to accommodate the Difference. The former complain'd of the Keeper in very sharp Terms, and the latter treated the Duke every whit as haughtily, encourag'd by the Protection of the Favourite. This was that Wise, that Modest, Publick Spirited Disinterested Lawyer, who so lately had the Character of the Honestest Man in *France*. He is perswaded to accept of a High Post, and see what it has made of him. His Disinterest is turn'd into Rapine, his Modesty into Insolence, his Publick Spirit into Flattery, his Wisdom into Tricking. The King order'd them to attend him a second time, in hopes to reconcile them. *Epernon* was still in the high Tone, and treated *Du Vair* with so much Contempt, that Young *Louis* was out of all Patience. He rose from his Seat, and handled the Duke so roughly, that he was glad when he was got out of the *Louvre*, for fear of being arrested. The King had taken Physick that Day, and having made sign for every one to leave his Chamber, *Epernon* going out with the rest, found the Door of the Anti-Chamber shut, *Bassompierre* seeing him in Confusion, pointed to the Door of the Private Stair-Case, and went down with him as fast as they cou'd. *Bassompierre* affected to be of no Party, and by that means kept in with all. The Duke & *Epernon* was too Powerful for him, not to endeavour to be well with him; he therefore promis'd him to give him Notice of whatever he cou'd learn, that had Relation to him; the same did the Princess of *Conti*, and the Chancellor de *Silleri*. *Bassompierre* told *Luines*, That Monsieur d' *Epernon* intended to go to his Government: I fear his Enemies may take this Opportunity to irritate the King against him. The Favourite gave *Bassompierre* to understand, he shou'd be glad if d' *Epernon* quitted the Court, and the Duke having desir'd to take Leave of his Majesty, he was inform'd he might do it with Safety. Accordingly

ingly he waited on the King, who, in appearance receiv'd him very graciously. *D' Epernon* cou'd not resolve to leave *Paris*, without bidding his Friends *Adieu*, and that with great Pomp, as it were in defiance of the Favourite, accompany'd with his Two Sons, and several Gentlemen on Horseback. His House was crowded with Visitors, and the King being at *Vauxres*, near *Paris*, he stay'd behind, paying and receiving Compliments longer than he intended, which gave such Offence to the Court, that the King said, *I shall return to the Louvre to morrow, if I find Monsieur d' Epernon still in Town, he shall not go out of it when he will.* *Bassompierre* went immediately, and oblig'd the Duke to depart, but his Proud Spirit cou'd not submit to do it like a Flight; he made a stop at his Seat of *Fontenai* in *Brie*, where, with great Serenity, he pass'd several Days in the Diversions of the Country, and receiving Visits. This was represented to the King as braving his Majesty, and a Body of Horse and Foot, was order'd to march towards *Fontenai*. The Chancellor *de Sillery*, gave him immediate Notice of this Order, and as Haughty as the Duke was, he made off in the Night, and got to *Metz* with all possible Diligence. *Luines* sent a Spy to observe him there, but this Old Statesman and Soldier, had so good Intelligence, that the Spy was discover'd and seiz'd at the Gates of the Town; and having undergone some proper Discipline, was sent back to *Paris*, where *Luines* and his *Lyons*, were for a while the Jest of the Town. At *Metz*, the Duke *d' Epernon* and his Son, the Marquis *de la Valette* resided, till by the Intrigues of Two Italians, *Vincentio*, Secretary to the late Mareschal *d' Ancre*, and *Abbe Rucellai*, *Conchini's* Friend, he undertook an Enterprize to deliver *Mary de Medicis* from her Confinement at *Blois*, and to convey her to *Angouleme*. Before the Duke left *Metz*, he solicited, by his Friends, the King's Permission, which under the Pretext of the Cabals in *Germany*, was deny'd him, and a New Order sent him to remain in that Government. In Answer to which

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Monsieur,

Monsieur de Epernon sent a sort of Manifesto, in the Form of a Letter, to the King, which was drawn up by the Famous Balzac his Secretary, and being written at a Time when he had positively resolv'd to deliver the Queen Mother, the Reader will doubtless be equally pleas'd with the Sincerity and Loyalty of it. For which reason, I shall repeat some Passages of it. *I assure my self*, says the Duke, *Your Majesty is so Just, You will have regard to the Necessity of my Private Affairs, and will give me the same Liberty that's allow'd to the meanest of Your Subjects.* He then goes on, to shew the ill Condition he was in to Live at Metz, with the Splendor becoming his Dignity, and how necessary therefore it was for him to look after his Affairs. *I promise my self*, continues he, *that you will take the Pains to consider, that since Your Accession to the Throne, I have borrow'd a Hundred Thousand Crowns for Your Service, for which I pay Interest at Paris, and having for these Two Years last past, receiv'd from your Bounty no other Gratification than the Simple Pay of Colonel, it is not possible that I shou'd be able to supply the great and necessary Expences to support the Grandeur of my Post, and to serve Your Majesty with the State and Magnificence suitable to it.* Again, *Since my Enemies daily endeavour to give Your Majesty ill Impressions of me, and to raise in Your Mind a Desfidence of my most upright Intentions; and since I am so unfortunate, that after having grown Old in the Service of Three Great Kings, I find my self under a Necessity of defending so long Fidelity against Calumny. I am oblig'd with a great deal of Grief, to declare that I have kept to my Duty, when Disobedience has been rewarded, and defended Your Authority when it has been abus'd by some, and dispis'd by others. 'Tis to do me an Injury, to think I wou'd at these Years fail in it, and that my Private Resentments are dearer to me than my Concern for Your Service.* This good Catholick and French Man, this Favourite of Henry the Illd, this inveterate Enemy to the Protestants, boasts of

of his *Upright Intentions*, and that his *Concern for his Majesty's Service*, is dearer to him than his *Private Resentments*. A few Days before, contrary to the King's reiterated Command, he left his Government of *Metz*, at the Head of a 100 Horse, cross'd the Province of *Burgundy*, pass'd the *Loire*, and sent his Son, the Arch-bishop of *Toulouse*, to receive the Queen Mother, who, the 22d of February, 1618, in the Night made her escape from *Blois* at *Monrrichard*. Her Majesty, accompany'd by one of the Women of her Chamber, the Count *de Brenne*, her First Gentleman, and three or four other Persons, went out of one of the Windows of the Castle of *Blois* by a Ladder, to a Parterre in the Garden, and thence by another Ladder to the Streer, whence she walk'd over the Bridge to her Coach, which waited for her with the Arch-bishop and his Followers, who convey'd her to *Loches*, whence the Duke *de Epernon* convey'd her to *Angoulême*, at the Head of about 200 Horse, in positive Disobedience to the King's Command, and actual Resistance of his Authority. The Count *de Schomberg* had Summon'd a Castle in that Government to Surrender in his Majesty's Name, the Officer who Commanded it, stood an Attack, and the Duke hasten'd to the Relief of it, but the Garrison had Capitulated before he cou'd come to their Assistance. The Favourite, who had in Time receiv'd Information of this Conspiracy, but wou'd either not give Credit to it, or neglected it, as thinking his Authority too well settled to receive any Shock by it, was in a Terrible Fright when the News of the Queen's Escape from *Blois* arriv'd at the *Louvre*. He did his utmost to irritate the King against his Mother and the Duke, and to perswade him to reduce the latter by Arms. The Queen wrote to her Son from *Loches*, and the Duke *d' Epernon* did the same; in both of whose Letters, are to be seen the Integrity of a Courtier, and what an Abhorrence those that have been bred in one, have of Dissimulation and Falshood. Her Majesty having told the King, that she was impatient of being confin'd at *Blois*, because it de-

priv'd her of an Opportunity to give him those good and salutary Councils, which those under whose Power he was unfortunately reduc'd, wou'd not suffer him to hearken to, proceeds thus. *To this end, I desir'd my Cousin the Duke of Epemon, to permit me to retire to Angouleme. I am going thither, convinc'd of his Fidelity, and his Zeal for your Service. The King your Father, commanded me before he dy'd, to have an entire Confidence in the Prudence and Probity of this Lord, to intrust him with all your most Important Affairs, and with my Private Ones also, if it was possible that I cou'd have Interests different from yours. I aim at nothing, but to remedy those Inconveniencies that might disturb the Happiness of your Reign. You will do me an extream Pleasure, if you will give me the Means to inform you without Hatred, and without Ambition, of some things that might make your Kingdom more Flourishing, and preserve its Tranquility. I protest I do not desire to take upon me again, the Administration of your Affairs; my greatest Passion is to see you Govern your Dominions your self, and to hear your Subjects exalt your Vertues, and the Mildness of your Government. The Duke d' Epemon, as if his Heart was full of nothing but Passive Obedience, and he had not so lately resisted the King's Authority, says in his Letter, As soon as I arriv'd at Loches, the Queen your Mother, commanded me to receive her there, and conduct her to Angouleme. I thought if I shou'd disobey her, I shou'd fail in the respect I owe to your Majesty. I most humbly beseech you, Sir, to believe that a Man, who never once acted contrary to your Majesty's Service, or the Service of the Kings your Predecessors, whatever ill Usage he has met with, has no Inclination, at my Age, to do any thing unworthy the Fidelity of which I have always made Profession, and that I shall never give your Majesty any just Cause to doubt of the Uprightness of my Intentions. The King was prevail'd upon by Luines, not to answer his Mother's Letter, but to proceed to Extremities, and to cause the Duke de Epemon to be declar'd a*

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Rebel in Parliament, which that Assembly refus'd. The Duke having had the Precaution to get a Letter from *Mary de Medicis*, inviting him to come and receive her at *Loches*, which prevented a Charge against him for carrying her off; the Queen Mother having also put into his Hands, a Letter of the Kings; which permitted her to have the Liberty of the Country about *Blois*, when she pleas'd. The Favourite sent the Count *de Bethune* to her, to try if she cou'd be brought to abandon *d' Epernon*, but the Queen, tho' she had great Temptations to do it, cou'd not think of acting such a Piece of Ingratitude to her Deliverer. The Haughtiness of his Temper, kept off the other Great Lords, who were upon the reserve, and had rather suffer the Favourite, than put themselves under the Domination of *d' Epernon*, who wou'd be Absolute where he was Master; and as there was no movement any where else in favour of her Majesty, the Accommodation the Court thought fit at last to proffer her, was accepted. There was a Circumstance in this Accommodation, which gives one a high Idea of the Duke *d' Epernon*, a Spirit which France is no more likely to Glory, when it was offer'd that he shou'd be Re-establish'd in all his Possessions, and be pardon'd, the Duke wou'd not hear of a Pardon; instead of being treated as a Criminal, he insisted upon it, that the King shou'd Solemnly declare, he had serv'd his Majesty, in serving the Queen Mother; and the Article relating to him in the Treaty of Accommodation, was lost, and to these Terms. The King promis'd to deal as Lovingly by the Duke *d' Epernon*, his Children, and all those who had serv'd the Queen Mother, as by his other Subjects. During this Negotiation, the Court who began to think they cou'd have no Body about the Queen, that wou'd serve them better than the Bishop of *Lucon*, so he was inform'd, that he might, if he pleas'd, wait on her at *Angouleme*, where he was most graciously receiv'd, and had Her Majesty's Seals immediately given him. The Queen on the Conclusion of this Treaty, wrote a Letter to her

Son, which she sent by the Count *de Brenne* before-mention'd, who shew'd such a Contempt of the Favourite, that he wou'd not pull off his Hat to him, as he came in his way; which the King took so ill, that he refus'd to return an Answer by him, but dispatch'd one of his Gentlemen in Ordinary with it. Wou'd the present King of *France* have been satisfy'd with such an Indignity offer'd to a Person, that had so affronted his Favourite and Minister? Is there a Noble Man in that Kingdom now, that durst cock at the Man the King delights to Honour, or are the Minds of the *French* elated in the Minorities, and weak Reigns as much as they are contracted under the Reigns of Princes that know how to be Masters? This Accommodation was follow'd by a Royal Interview at *Tours*, where the Queen met her Son and the Court, and there was as much shew of Rejoycing, as if all was forgot, and the Favourites of *Lewis* the XIIIth, and *Mary de Medicis*, had but one Affection and Interest, the Service of the Crown.

Not long after the Interview at *Tours*, *Deageant* who had betray'd his Master *Barbin*, and had been ill receiv'd by the Queen Mother, being on ill Terms with *Arnoux*, the King's Confessor, and not on very good ones with *Luines*, was sent into *Dauphiny*, under Pretext of observing the *Mareschal de Lesdiguieres*, who affected at least to be discontented, and to espouse the Interests of the Protestants, for whom he always appear'd Zealous, when he had any thing to manage at Court. Tho' the Trickster *Deageant* knew very well that he was sent thither, because the Favourite wanted to get rid of him, yet he put a good Colour upon his Disgrace, and *Luines* was so far from shewing any Disgust, that, in Appearance, he seem'd sorry at their Separation, which the Necessity of Affairs made absolutely necessary; and then his Journey to *Dauphiny*, where he was to reside and exercise his Office of *First President of the Chamber of Accounts*, was taken to be a Mystery. This Man left *Memoirs* which have been very useful to us; He had a Superior Genius to *Luines*, and

got ground daily in the King's Favour, which alarm'd the Favourite, who knowing his Cunning and Falshood, insinuated to the King, that there was not a Man in *France* so proper as *Deageant*, to observe the *Mareschal de Lesdisguieres*, to whom he was Commission'd to offer the Constable's Staff, if he wou'd turn *Papist*. This was all the *Mareschal* wanted; he made no Scruple to promise he wou'd abandon his Religion, as he had done his Morals before. However, he wou'd not do it till the Staff was put in his Hands: In the mean time, he betray'd the Protestant Councils to *Deageant*, communicated to him all the Dispatches he receiv'd from their Assemblies, and consulted him about the Answers he sent them.

The Queen Mother's Interest increasing daily, after the late Accommodation, *Luines* and his Two Brethren found it wou'd be too difficult a matter for them to support themselves, without the Protection of the First Prince of the Blood, wherefore they resolv'd to procure the Liberty of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Warrant for his Releasement was carry'd by *Luines* in Person to *Bois de Vincennes*, from whence the Prince went immediately, accompany'd by the Princess, the Favourite, and his Brother *Cadener* to *Chantilli*, where the King gave him a very favourable Reception. The Declaration which was sent to the Parliament, in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, having a Preamble that reflected on the Ministers of the Regency, it highly disgusted *Mary de Medicis*, and the Bishop of *Lucan*, who particularly had advis'd her to Imprison the Prince. *Mary de Medicis* cou'd not help expressing her Resentment to the Gentleman who was sent to acquaint her with the Resolution taken to set the Prince at Liberty. *Richlieu* kept his Sentiments to himself, resolving to do his utmost to render himself so necessary to the Favourite, that he shou'd contribute to his Advancement, as high as his Ambition aspir'd, which of all things in the World, *Luines* was most afraid of.

There is now a new Scene of Affairs; the Prince of *Conde* and *Luines* are, or seem to be, in the strictest League; the Queen allarm'd at this close Correspondence of a Prince whom she had disobligh'd with a Minister who had so disobligh'd her, thought of Commotions to defend her Interest against both of them; and as Indifferent as she appears to be towards the Administration, it is certain it was what employ'd all her Thoughts, and what she was impatient in the loss of.

During these Transactions the Poor Protestants instead of gaining any Advantage by these Divisions between the Queen Mother and the Favourite and the Ministry and the Discontented Lords far'd never the better for it, all the *Papists* agreed to oppress them. The Opposition the States of *Bearn* made to the Execution of the King's Edict, which destroy'd their Religion and Liberties enrag'd the Court against them, and *Luines* engag'd by the Pope, and the Court of *Madrid* was for reducing them by Arms. The Pope's Interest in their Destruction is obvious, the *Spaniards* hop'd by that means to prevent the *French* King's concerning himself in the Affairs of *Germany*, where the Power of the House of *Austria* began to decline, and had been broken, had the Protestants not been divided by the Artifices of their Enemies. The *Reform'd* held an Assembly at *Orthez* in *Bearn*, which for the conveniency of the other Provinces was transfer'd to *Rochel* and made General. The Duke d' *Epernon* had then deliver'd the Queen Mother from her Confinement, and that Imperious *Papist* who not long before had in so hostile a Manner insulted the *Rochellers*, sent his Agents thither to court the Assembly and them to declare for the Queen Mother and him; but the Protestants were so Exemplarily Loyal that they refus'd to give Audience to those Agents; declar'd all Deserters of the Union of the Churches, who should side with any Body but the King.

This Assembly not being held a Legal one, as not summon'd with the King's Permission, broke up on the Promise of a Brief, warranting a New one to
meet

meet at *Loudun* which met accordingly the 26th of *September* 1619. and was compos'd of Persons of the best Quality and Merit among the Reform'd. The Court was not at all Apprehensive of the Consequence of the Meeting, knowing how the *Protestants* were divided among themselves, and being sure of *Lesdisguieres*, *Chatillon* and others of their Leaders. However, the Assembly came to several Vigorous Resolutions, and declar'd they wou'd not break up till his Majesty had given an Answer to their *Cahiers* of Complaints, consisting of several manifest Breaches of their Edicts as the forting Children from their *Protestant* Parents to be bred up by *Jesuits*, the denying *Protestants* Christian Burial; the shutting up their Temples in several Places; and other Grievances too many to be particulariz'd in this History.

The Favourite gain'd by the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, inspir'd the King with the Spirit of Persecution; and when the Deputies of the Assembly sent to Court with their *Cahiers* had ended their Speech, the only Answer the King gave them was a Command to break up their Assembly; *La Haye* who was Speaker of the Deputation, having taken the Liberty to reply, his Majesty interrupted him, making a sign to the Usher to turn them out. The *Mareschal de Lesdisguieres* and the Duke *de Chatillon* pretended to Mediate for them; but that did not hinder a Declaration carry'd by the Prince of *Conde* himself to the Parliament to be verifi'd, by which all the Deputies who remain'd at *Loudun* after Three Weeks, were declar'd Guilty of High Treason. The Prince of *Conde's* meddling in this Matter, highly offend'd the *Protestants* who had Petition'd for his Enlargement and ever wish'd him well. They were further allarm'd by a Passage in a Speech of *Du Vair* at the verifying some Pecuniary Edicts, that the Money wou'd be wanting in order to Suppress the Reform'd. This made the Assembly unite with the greatest Vigor, and resolve not to be Suppress'd without Defending themselves. *Luines* was frighten'd at their Resolution, and considering how ready the

Queen

Queen Mother and the Discontented Lords were to joyn with 'em against them, he thought fit to amuse them with some fair Promises of Redress of their Grievances, especially with Respect to *Bearn*; and the Prince of *Conde* gave them his Parole for the Performance of them. Upon which the Assembly nam'd their Deputies to Negotiate their Affairs at Court and broke up; being assur'd that if their Grievances were not Redress'd by the time appointed them, they should have Permission to meet again at *Rochelle*. The Separating this Assembly just as they were about to fall in with the Queen Mother's Party was *Luines's* Master Piece. The Duke de *Rohan*, the most sincere Friend to the Reform'd, had earnestly solicited them to do it; but *Lesdisguieret*, *Chatillon*, and the Cautious *Du Plessis Morway* were for their breaking up, the Two former having Private Ends in it; and the latter being apprehensive that the taking Arms would be entirely the Ruin of the Religion in *France*.

The general Assembly of the Protestants were not the only Body of Men in *France* that oppos'd the Measures of the Court; the Parliament of *Paris* insisting upon their Privileges, debated the passing a Pecuniary Edict, which so incens'd the Ministers, that they made *Luines* go in Person to that Assembly the 18th of *Feberuary* 1619. attended by his Brother the Duke d' *Anjou*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Count de *Soissons*, and several other Lords to force Obedience without Contradiction. *Du Vair* that Man of Honour, void of Ambition and Avarice, when he was a Counsellor in Parliament now he has the Seals, a Bishoprick and hopes of a Cardinals Hat, is the only Man of that Shadow of a Senate, who asserted the Parliaments having no Negative in passing of Edicts. We repeat what he says on that occasion, to show the Corruption of Mans Heart, and how apt the strongest Minds are to be soften'd by Favour and the Temptations of a Court. You may present a Remonstrance or Two, says he, but if the King has no Regard to them, you ought blindly to obey him; Parliaments were establish'd to
render

render the Sovereign Authority of Kings, the more supportable to the People and not to resist them; whoever says the contrary must be either a Fool or a Rebel. As Kings by a wise Condescension have submitted their Ordinances and Edicts to the Examination of the Parliament, they can take away that Privilege when they Please; Your Obstinate Refusal to Register the Edicts, the King sent you is of Pernicious Consequence. Will you teach the People that they may resist the Kings Pleasure, and that his Edicts receive their Authority from the consent of the Parliament? Horrid Doctrine in a Time when the Authority Royal was in the Hands of a Minion. The Parliament must by no means not only Resist the Pleasure of the Prince, but that of his Favourite! To oppose the Ministers is to Rebel against the King, and not to know that his Will or the Will of his Favourite is above the Laws makes a Fool of a Man. *Du Vair* who once had the Reputation of the most Upright Magistrate in France tells you so. Was it likely that Assembly should preserve their Privileges or France its Liberty? *Luines* being present when this Contest was, had the Mortification to hear the Evil Counsellors reflected on as advising this Edict to Enrich themselves by Impoverishing the People. Notwithstanding *Du Vair* threatened the Parliament with the King's Resentment if they delay'd verifying the Edict, *Verdun* the first President answer'd this Slave to Favour with a Boldness worthy the Dignity of his Office; he express'd himself plainly that he would yeild to nothing but Violence. Sir, says he to the King with equal Courage and Gravity, We are extreamly troubled that the Necessity of your Affairs seem to engage you to deprive your Parliament of its Ancient Rights, to look into the Wants of the State, and deliberate concerning the Edicts you send to them. As the Omission to submit your self to that Law inviolably observ'd in all Times by your Predecessors is a Presage of the Decadence and Diminution of your Royal Authority; we shall redouble hereafter our Vows for the Prosperity of your Reign. We pray God, Sir, that he will make known to your Majesty

jesty the Prejudice that the Authors of those Violent
 Counsels do to the Sovereign, and since we cannot
 prevent the pernicious Consequences, we will in
 Discharge of our Conscience towards God and to
 wards our King, put in our Registers the Name and
 Quality of those that advis'd you not to hearken to
 our Just Remonstrances. How has this Assembly now
 lost its Authority? Has there been a President since
 Monsieur Verdurin that durst tell the French King to
 his Face, he would set a Mark on such as broke in
 upon the Privileges of the Parliament? but the Au-
 thority Royal soon triumphed over it. This Wise
 and Brave Magistrate with his Brethren was sent
 for to Court and Reprimanded, the Edict Register'd
 in Opposition to the Sentiments of the whole As-
 sembly, and with the Money rais'd by it Troops
 were Levy'd not to assist the Emperor as was at
 first given out, but to depress a New Party form'd
 in Favour of *Mary de Medicis*, or rather against
Luines, whose Pride and Rapine were become
 Intolerable. He engros'd very thing at Court; and
 was not content to be great himself, his Two Bro-
 thers were marry'd into Two Illustrious Families,
 and with their Estates took their Titles, *Cadenet* was
 made Marechal and Duke de *Chaulnes*, *Brantes* Duke
 de *Peney Luxemburgh*. Thus in about Three Years
 time were these Three Brothers Sons of a Private
 Gentleman of an Ordinary Fortune become Dukes,
 and great not only in Titles but in Riches. The
 hasty Rise of these Brothers could not avoid creating
 Envy; and I have often wonder'd at the Indiscretion
 of Favourites, enough Instances of which are to be
 met with in History, who thinking their Founda-
 tion on a Rock fear no Shocks of Fortune, expose
 themselves to all Hazards and defy their Enemies.
 To have Power and Wealth does not satisfy them,
 they must make an Appearance of it, Vanity has
 ruin'd what Fraud has acquir'd. The Cunning who
 are for Securing as well as Possessing, cannot con-
 ceal the Advantages of their Posts and Elevation;
 Pride will not suffer such concealment, and weak
 Minds, who cannot bear the Excess of Fortune, ease
 them.

themselves by showing it, but shew it often to their Distruction. We shall see presently from what small Beginnings that Quarrel arose, which had like to have set all *France* in a Flame. It was grown in *France* a Mark of the highest Distinction in the Court of *France* to give the King the Napkin; this was a Custom at the Coronation of a King in Old Times, but it was now become Customary at common Meals at the *Levee* and *Couchee*, and a Token of Servitude as it is 'twas a matter of Dignity and Importance. The Prince of *Conde* demanded the Honor to hold the *Towel* as the first Prince of the Blood, the Count *de Soissons* as great Master of the Household, and they went so far as to Struggle for it. The King to prevent further Mischiefe had the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother give it him; and the Two contending Princes gave way to him, not without threatening Words to each other. The Court Lords immediately offer'd their Service to the one or other as Inclination drove them, the Duke of *Guise* and the Favourite's Friends declar'd for *Conde*: the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Longueville* and others for *Soissons*; the Countess of *Soissons* his Mother in hopes of his Marrying the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, afterwards Queen of *England*, took hold of that Opportunity to engage several Lords to joyn with her Son and espouse the Party of *Mary de Medicis*. The Duke *de Mayenne* was one of the first disgusted that *Luines* did not pay him Respect enough, and that he was not paid some Money that was due to him from the Government. *Richlieu* did not let this Occasion slip to strengthen the Party of the Queen Mother, and by his Intrigues were many great Lords brought over. The Confederacy was so Powerful that had not the Bishop of *Lucon* betray'd his Mistress, it would have ruin'd the Favourite and his Followers. The Duke *de Vendome*, his Brother the Grand Prior, the Duke *de Rohan*, the Duke *de Longueville* and the Duke *de Retz* came into it, as did afterwards the Duke *d' Epemon*; and *Luines* Affairs were now the most embarras'd that they had ever been or will be.

His

His Brother *Brantes*, now Duke *de Piney Luxemburgh*, was sent to *Angers* where the Queen Mother kept her Court, to invite her to return to the *Louvre*, which she would not consent to unless Satisfaction was given her for the Affront put upon her Regency in the Preamble to the Prince of *Conde's* Decree, and she had Security that she should be well us'd there. The Duke *de Mayenne* retir'd to his Government of *Guyenne* without taking his Leave of the King; *De Maine*, a Favourite of *Luines*, was sent after him with Letters from the King to the Governors of the most Important Places and especially of *Blaise*, exhorting them to continue Faithful, and to form no Faction against his Service, which had little effect. The Governors of Provinces in *France* were Masters there during this Minority, and till the Ministry of *Richieu*; and we shall see how these *Catholicks* and *Frenchmen* practis'd the Doctrine of Obedience without Reserve when they cou'd Disobey with Impunity. The Duke *de Mayenne* being very Powerful in his Government, the Favourite thought it most advisable to gain him by fair means, and caus'd the King to write a Letter to him, inviting him to return to Court, which the Duke excus'd, saying, *He could be more Serviceable to his Majesty in Guyenne*. The Duke *de Vendome* withdrew to the Queen Mother at *Angers*; he was follow'd by the Countess of *Souffons*, her Son the Count, and the Grand Prior of *France*; her Party in a little Time became so considerable that she had with her besides the Second Prince of the Blood, Seventeen great Lords, Officers of the Crown or Governors of Provinces. They pretended the Publick Good only, whereas in Truth neither *Mary de Medicis* nor her Followers aim'd at any thing but the Administration, and their Private Advantage. 'Tis thus the People in all Nations have been abus'd by the glorious Pretence of Redressing of Grievances, when the Changes that great Men have required in order to it are accomplish'd, other Persons are indeed employ'd, but the People remain where they were, the Oppression is the same,

same, tho' the Oppressors are forc'd to give Places to others. The Confederacy did not go far in this attempt to remove the Favourite, means were found to divide the Confederated Lords, who if they had continu'd United and under the Queen Mother, might, if they pleas'd have secur'd the Liberties of France. The Duke de Longueville, the Grand Prior of France, and the Count de Torigni held Normandy, the Count de Soissons secur'd Perche and part of Maine, the Duke de Vendome was Master of some Towns on the River Loire, the Marechal de Bois Dauphin possess'd himself of others between La Sarre and La Marzienne, the Queen Mother held Angers and Pont de Ce, the Dukes de Trimonville and Retz held several good Towns in Poitou and Bretagne, the Duke de Rohan commanded in St. Jean d'Angeli, the Duke de Epemon had la Angoumois and la Sainlonge at his disposal; the Vicount de Aubeterra Governor of Blaie declar'd himself for Mary de Medicis, the City, the Parliament of Bourdeaux and all Guyenne follow'd the Directions of the Duke de Mayenne; in a word, the Queen Mother had a Country of Two Hundred Leagues in length from Diep to the Mouth of the Garonne at her Devotion; and had the Lords who were with her, taken Care to prevent her being govern'd by Persons who had their own Interest only in view, they might have soon put an End to the Tyranny of the Favourite, who finding the Stream run so strong against him, resolv'd rather to give way a little to it, than by a rash Opposition to encrease its Fury. He began by practising upon some of the Lords about her, and cajoling others that had not yet taken her Party. The Dukes de Montbazon and de Bellegarde, the Archbishop of Sens, and the President Jeannin were dispatch'd away to Angers as Commissioners from the King to treat of an Accommodation with the Queen Mother, who would at first hearken to no Proposition, but in concert with the Lords that had declar'd for her, which the Commissioners saying, *The King wou'd not enter into a Treaty with his Subjects.* A Tone that has been since improv'd
in

in France; Had the Queen Mother follow'd the advice of the Dukes *de Rohan*, *de Mayenne* and *d' Epernon*, the Court must have soon alter'd their Language, instead of giving them Time to gain off several Heads of the Party, and prevent others from joyning them, to raise Troops and be prepar'd to fall upon *Normandy* before the Duke *de Longueville* had got a sufficient Strength to make Head against them, if she had retir'd to *Bordeaux* to the Duke *de Mayenne* who had a good Army of 18000 Men, the other Lords wou'd immediately have joyn'd her, and by that Injunction the Army have been so encreas'd that nothing could have hinder'd their march to *Paris*. But the Bishop of *Lucon* who was afraid of the too great Influence those Lords would have over her, if she was so entirely in their Possession, and that he should not be able to value himself to the Court so much for his Management of her and her Affairs, dissuaded her from it, under Pretence that if she went to *Bordeaux* it wou'd infallibly occasion a Difference between the Duke *de Mayenne*, who wou'd pretend to the Superiority as Governor of the Province, and the Duke *d' Epernon* who wou'd submit to no Body on account of Seniority and his High Employments.

This Irresolution destroy'd the hopefullest Project that ever was form'd in *France* to secure that Nation from the Absolute Power of Favourites, which was the Ruin of their Liberties. The King attended by his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Favourite, *Du Vair*, and other Lords of the Court march'd with an Army into *Normandy*, and oblig'd the Duke *de Longueville* to throw himself into *Diep*; the Castle of *Caen* made a vigorous Resistance; Monsieur *Prudent*, a Valiant Officer commanded there for the Grand Prior, and the King's Army was forc'd to Besiege it in Form. There happen'd a Circumstance in this Siege which was very Extraordinary; the Prince of *Conde* to whom *Luines* gave the entire Management of Matters in this Difficult Juncture, perswaded the Young King *Lewis* and his Brother *Gaston* to visit the

the Trenches; the Besieg'd did not discontinue their Fire, and it was thought somewhat odd, that the First Prince of the Blood should carry those Two Princes to such a Place of Danger, himself being the next Heir after them to the Crown; the Courtiers grumbled at it, but the Favourite being now govern'd by *Cohde*, every one else thought it in vain to oppose him; *Luines*, as other Minions have done, kept out of Harms way, and tho' he sent the King and the Duke d' *Anjou* to the Trenches, never came near them himself; the King commanded the Garrison to be Summon'd again, but the Brave *Prudent* valu'd not their Threats to Hang him if he resisted any longer; upon which the Besiegers had Recourse to an Artifice, and order'd the Officer who was sent with the Summons, to cry out to the Garrison, that if they wou'd throw the Obstinate and Rebellious Governor over the Walls, they should have Ten Thousand Crowns besides a Pardon; *Prudent* after that could not keep them in Obedience, and being forc'd to Capitulate, had Honourable Terms given him. The Reduction of *Caen* was follow'd with the Submission of the Counts de *Torigny*, *Beuvron*, *Montgomeri*, *Luzerne* and other Lords; the Duke de *Longueville* himself sending the King a Letter, importing, that tho' the Malice of his Enemies oblig'd him to stand on his Guard in *Diep*, yet he promis'd not to do any thing against his Majestys Service.

Normandy being reduc'd, the Prince of *Conde*, who was more than any one animated against the Queen Mother for his Imprisonment, was for marching without loss of time to *Alencon*, and so to *Pont de Ce* to possess themselves of that Post, and cut off the Queen Mother's Communication with the Dukes de *Rohan*, d' *Epernon* and *Mayenne*. A Council being held on this occasion, the Cardinal de *Retz* represented to the King, that it was not decent to fall upon *Alencon* which belong'd to the Queen his Mother. *Conde* reproach'd the Cardinal that he was for sparing *Alencon* because his Nephew the Duke de *Retz* had embrac'd the contrary Party, You are
M afraid

afraid, said he angrily, if it should be intirely destroy'd, the Duke your Nephew, will suffer as well as the other Malecontents. Sir, reply'd the Cardinal, I am the King's Servant, and I am not afraid to own that I am a Servant to the Queen Mother; I know the difference between the Fidelity I owe his Majesty and the Respect I owe to the Queen his Mother. No body shall ever lay to my Charge, added he Smiling, That I have espous'd any Party against the King's Service, nor have been too much concern'd for those that have taken Arms against him, whatever Proximity of Blood there may be between me and them. From this Time the Cardinal and the other Confidants represented continually to Luines, that if the Party of the Queen Mother was utterly suppress'd, the Prince of Conde wou'd be Master of all, and his Power be much more intolerable than any thing that cou'd be apprehended from that of *Mary de Medicis*. They insinuated to him, that by gaining *Richlieu*, Bishop of *Lucon*, who govern'd the Queen Mother, he might easily make her Favourable to him, and secure himself. Accordingly he enter'd into Secret Negotiation with the Bishop; the Favourite by his Agents promis'd him a Cardinals Hat, and *Richlieu* gave him Assurance that he wou'd deliver up his Mistress when the King arriv'd at *Pont de Co*. The Royal Army marching towards *Alencon* took *Verneuil*, famous for the glorious Victory obtain'd there by the English over the French, and *Dreux*, where Monsieur *Bassompierre* joyn'd it with 8000 Foot and 700 Horse. It was now twice as Strong as the Queen Mother's, which had taken *La Flèche* and was advancing to *Mans*; but hearing of the Junction of *Bassompierre's* Troops with the King's, she retir'd to *Angers*. Luines took Courage on this Success, and especially on the hopes he had form'd of having *Mary de Medicis* betray'd to him by *Lucon*. A Declaration was publish'd in his Majesty's Name, wherein the Queen Mother was tenderly dealt with, but the Count and Countess of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Vendome*, his Brother the Grand Prior of *France*, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, of *Nemours*, of *Longueville*

de Rohan, de la Tremouille, d' Epernon, de Retz, de Roannez, the Marechal de Bois Dauphin, the Count de Candale, the Marquis de la Villedieu, the Arch-Bishop of Toulouse, and all others engag'd on her side, were declar'd Rebels, unless they laid down their Arms in a Month. This Declaration was Register'd in Parliament the Sixth of August, 1620. The Cardinal de Guise was not Nam'd, in Complacency to his Brothers the Dukes de Guise and de Chevreuse, who had done his Majesty Signal Services, and the Court was not willing to drive the Marechal de Bouillon to Extremities, tho' they knew of his Engagements with Mary de Medicis, who being frighten'd at her Sons Approach, was for leaving some Troops to defend Angers and Pont de Ce, and joyning the Duke d' Epernon and de Mayenne with the rest, which wou'd have made up an Army of 30000. This was the best Step she had to take, but the false Richlieu dissuaded her from it, by representing to her, that if she put herself into the Hands of those Two Ambitious Lords, she, who might at Angers be Arbitrer of Peace and War, must submit to what Conditions they shou'd think fit to impose on her. This Counsel cou'd not but be pleasing to a Princess, who believ'd it came from her best Friend, especially since it flatter'd that desire of Independency, which had always appear'd in her from her first assuming the Regency. The Queen confided wholly in the Fidelity and Vigilance of Richlieu, who plac'd his Relations and Creatures in all the most Important Offices near his Person, and in all Military Posts, insomuch that she was entirely at his disposal. The Magazines of Pont de Ce he so far neglected, that there was neither Powder nor Ball there on the approach of the Kings Army. The Queen Mother sent the Duke de Bellegarde, the Arch-Bishop of Sens, and Father Berulle to acquaint her Son, that she was willing to enter into a Negotiation with him, to which a stop was put, by the Kings insisting upon it, that the Lords of her Party shou'd submit to his Mercy: The Queen on

the other hand, would not Treat but with their Participation. While things were in this suspense, the Favourite, who had an Understanding with *Richlieu*, sends *Rassompierre* to possess himself of *Pont de Ce*, where the Duke *de Retz* commanded, who having Intimation from his Unkle the Cardinal, that *Mary de Medicis* was betray'd by *Lucon*, abandon'd that Command, and retir'd to his House. The King's Troops easily master'd the unprovided Garrison, and Butcher'd a great part of it. *Mary de Medicis* was for flying into *Guyenne*, and *Richlieu* gave Notice of it to *Luines*, who took care to send out Parties of Horse to intercept her.

The Queen Mother finding herself surrounded by her Sons Army, accepted of what Conditions he wou'd grant her. The most favourable of which, was a General Pardon for all that had engag'd with her, if they submitted in Eight Days, after the Treaty was Sign'd. *Richlieu* was by a private Article, to have the next Cap after the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*, by the Recommendation of *France*; and the Queen Mother who imagin'd it wou'd mightily advance her Affairs, if there was a Friendship between *Luines* and him, encourag'd that Intelligence which *Lucon* had Traiterously carry'd on. A Match was talk'd of between a Nephew of the Duke *de Luines*, and a Neice of *Richlieu*, Famous afterwards, under the Name of the Dutchess *de Anguillon*. The Queen Mother having given the Duke *d'Epemon* Notice of her entring into a Treaty of Accommodation, that Duke, who pretended only to take Arms for her Service, disbanded his Troops and submitted. The Duke *de Mayenne* did not submit so readily, but finding it was to no purpose to stand out, he follow'd the example of *d'Epemon*, as did all the *Malecontents*; and the Queen Mother had an Interview with her Son at *Brisac*, where, to all outward appearance, there was a perfect Reconciliation of all Parties. The Prince of *Conde* seem'd to have forgot his Prison; *Richlieu* was carels'd by the Court, as the main Instrument of the Peace, and after the Interview, his Majesty went a Progress

gress into *Guyenne*, and other Provinces, where the Malecontent Lords had been most stirring. He was receiv'd every where with Joy, and treated with the utmost Respect and Magnificence by *d' Epernon*, *Mayenne*, and other Lords, whom a few Days before he had Proclaim'd Traytors.

The Happy Issue of this Expedition, made the Court resolve to enter upon another, that of annexing *Bearn* to the Crown, and restoring the Popish Religion in that Principality. To which end, at the Perswasion of the Pope's Nuntio, the Spanish Ambassador, *du Perron* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, *du Vair*, and others, *Luines* put his Master upon a March to *Bearn* in the Winter Season. The Parliament sent several Deputies to his Majesty, to make their Submission in any manner, with preserving their Ancient Rights and Privileges, which the *Bearnois* appear'd resolute in the Defence of, till the Army approach'd, and the Gates of *Pau* their Capital, were open'd to them. The King having made his Entry into *Pau*, sent a Detachment to possess *Noverreins*, a strong Town, which might have sustain'd a long Siege, but the Protestant Governor caus'd the Garrison to march out, to receive the King, who went thither in Person with the more respect. His reward was to be turn'd out of his Government, and a Popish Governor and Popish Garrison were left in it. There was one Ridiculous Passage in this Action of the King's, which makes one pity the Hardships that ill Ministers put on their Masters Consciences. *Lewis* being come back to *Pau*, in an Assembly of the States took the usual Oath to maintain their Rights, Privileges and Immunities, which the very same Day he began to violate; and before he left the Place, the whole Order of Government, Establish'd in that Province, was subverted; and on the very Day that their Liberty was at an end, did a most Cruel and Sanguinary Persecution begin, the Forerunner of a General One, with which the Furious Papiests then threaten'd the Protestants. 'Tis strange, that while the Court was acting these Violences in *Bearn*, the Assembly

of the Protestants at *Alex*, shou'd not interceed for the Miserable *Bearnois* their Brethren. They suffer'd themselves to be amus'd by False Reports, and were so far from sending them Succours, that they refus'd to order Prayers for them. Several of the Deputies had sold themselves to the Court, and the Assembly saw it well enough, but they wanted either the Means to Convict, or the Courage to chastise them.

It was not likely the Liberties of the Reform'd Church of *France* cou'd be long maintain'd, when the Mareschal de *Lesdisguieres*, and the Marquis de *Chatillon*, Two of their Chiefs, had a Secret Interview with the Duke de *Guise*, the most inveterate Enemy of the Protestants, to concert Measures to hinder their making a Division in the Provinces of *Dauphine*, *Languedoc* and *Provence*. Some of the very Ministers themselves held Correspondence with the King's Lieutenants, as *La Farre*, Minister of the Church at *Aubenas*, *Codure*, Minister at *Ganges*, and others. The Reform'd were every where insulted, and no Redress cou'd be obtain'd for them: Monsieur du *Plessis Mornay* was still for Pacifick Passive Councils, he saw the Danger the Church of *France* was in: He wrote to the Ministers, and the Duke de *Montazon* in their behalf, but he wou'd not hear of coming to Action; and the extream Caution of this Lord, the interested Principle of the Duke de *Bonillon*, the Treachery of *Lesdisguieres* and *Chatillon*, the Cowardice and Inconstancy of the Marquis de *la Fosse*, hinder'd the effect which the Resolution and Zeal of the Dukes de *Rohan*, and de *Soubise* might have produc'd, for the Safety of the Protestant Churches of *France*, had they been faithfully and Vigorously supported. I shall not enter into the Detail of the Proceedings of several Provincial Assemblies of the Reform'd; they had Communication with each other, but the False Brethren that were among them, hinder'd their resolving upon any thing Effectual for their Defence. The Court had promis'd, that if their Grievances were not redress'd

in a Months time, the General Assembly might meet of themselves. The Time was near expir'd, and nothing done to give them Satisfaction: *Luines* fear'd his Intrigues wou'd not have the Success with a General, as with a Provincial Assembly, and therefore got the King to cause Two Counsellors of the Religion to be receiv'd in the Parliament of *Paris*. The Prince of *Conde* went to get the Edict for their Reception pass'd, and it is said he assur'd that Assembly, it wou'd be the last Favour which wou'd be granted to the *Hugonots*. These, and other, such Political Compliances, not satisfying the *Reform'd*, whose Edicts were daily infring'd, a General Assembly met at *Rochelle*, which the Court declar'd to be an *Illegal One*, as meeting without their Warrant; and the Jesuits suggested, that the Assembling thus, being a Rebellion, the Protestants had forfeited all the Favours that had been granted them. New Names were given to Things to blacken them, and prepare the way for their Destruction. When they were Attack'd, if they *Resisted*, they were *Rebels*; their *Courage* in Assaults, or in Sallies, in Combats or in Sieges, was term'd *Fury*. All the Enemies they kill'd in a Just War, were *Massacres*: All their Undertakings to secure themselves, to Fortify their Cities, to prevent Surprizes from their *Papish* Fellow Citizens, were nothing but *Barbarity*, *Impiety* and *Sacrilege*. In a Word, says the Author of the Edict of *Nantz*, *All their Proceedings were Vilify'd with all the Malice imaginable, by Writers and Orators, in order to engage the Catholics the more to their Ruin*. I think, continues he, this General Remark will be sufficient: I thought it necessary, lest People might be impos'd upon by the Style of those Days. Is there no Period of Time, when the like Reproach, the like Malice of one Guilty Part of a Nation against another Innocent one were thus practis'd; their Actions misrepresented, their Arguments wrested, odious Distinctions given them, the Pulpits and the Press at War with them. These were the Methods

thods the Jesuits made use of in France to destroy the Protestants. How they succeeded, this History will shew in the Sequel.

An event that fell out soon after the King's return from Pau to Bourdeaux, shews the Power the Favourite had over him, and the slavish Subjection of the Courtiers to him. Monsieur de Bassompierre, one of the most Gallant Men of his Time, had insinuated himself so far into his Master's Favour, that Luines conceiv'd an incurable Jealousy of him, and would not let the King be easy till he got him to alter his Conduct towards him. Accordingly all of a sudden, when he waited on his Majesty, he was receiv'd very coldly; he who us'd to speak to him with equal Freedom and Galaty, said, *Are you in Earnest Sir, or is it only for the Jest sake, that you seem Angry with me?* The King reply'd gravely, *I am not Angry with you;* and immediately turn'd from him; Bassompierre went presently to the Duke de Luines who receiv'd him so ill, that he no longer doubted of a Design against him at Court. The Cardinal de Retz, and the Count de Schomberg, let him know that the Duke de Luines complain'd of him, and when Bassompierre desir'd to come to an *Eclaircissement* on the Matter; the main Cause of it was found to be his gaining Ground daily in the King's good Graces. The Favourite was resolv'd to ruin him or make him leave the Court. One would have thought that those good Graces of his Majesty might have been his Protection, but instead of that, he had the Comfort to hear him say, *Don't Trouble thy self, take no Notice of it.* Bassompierre was told that Luines cou'd not bear him at Court, and that he must think of leaving it out of Hand. The Gallant Lorrainer resolv'd at first not to submit to his unjust Banishment, but his Friends represented to him that all Opposition would be to no Purpose. He who had as much Gunning as Gallantry, thought it his best way to comply with an Ambitious Favourite, who had the entire Government of his Master, and that he might not be ruin'd past recovery, to come to Terms with him.

him. The Duke de Luines propos'd to him to go Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain: Bassompierre, to oblige him, accepted of the Ambassy, and they having afterwards a Meeting about it, I must own, plainly to you, says Luines meanly and ridiculously, I am like a Husband who's afraid of being a Cuckold, I can't endure that a Gallant Man should make Love to my Wife; I shall always have an Esteem and Friendship for you, but 'tis on Condition that you do not endeavour to insinuate yourself too far into the King's Favour. Luines after that carry'd him to the King's Apartment, by whom he was graciously receiv'd, the Favourite shewing that Matters were made up between them. Here's an Image of a sovereign Genius; Here's a Master of a Powerful Monarchy that dares not Love or Hate but as his Minion pleases. Happy the People whose Religion, whose Liberties, whose Properties are at the Pleasure of such a Prince. Good God! Was there ever an Instance of such Weakness? Lewis not only Reigns, but Smiles! and Frowns as his Favourite will have him; a Favourite, of whom at the Bottom he is himself weary, and whom the least Breath of his Mouth would reduce to the meanness of his Origin.

The Court having perform'd that Notable Expedition to Bearn, and finding the Protestants so intimidated, that they durst not stir upon it, kept no Measures with 'em, and instead of receiving the Remonstrance of the Assembly at Rochelle, or the Petition of their Deputies General; the former was in a manner prescrib'd, and the latter refus'd Audience. This at last made the Assembly Desperate; they sent Circular Letters to the Provinces, order'd their Places of Secutiry to be Fortify'd, rais'd Money, and chose Generals to Head their Troops if occasion requir'd. I have not Patience with the eternal Eulogies given by the Author of the Life of Monsieur du Plessis Mornay, to the unparallel'd Wisdom of that Gentleman, who would never consent to the Protestants taking Arms till it was too late; who was for giving away every thing

thing by degrees, rather than come to Extremities. Whereas it was very plain that no Compliances wou'd save that Religion, which a Vigorous, Unanimous, and timely Resistance might have maintain'd to this Day.

The Marechal de Bouillon, and the Marquis de la Force were also for Submission to the King's or rather to the Favourite's Will. Not half of the Lords of the Reform'd Religion fell in with the Assembly, and a Party thus divided, cou'd not hope of prevailing against one Superior to them in every Thing; four times their Number, possess'd of the Riches and Strength of the Nation. However, Affairs were Desperate they would not be destroy'd without Resistance, and they could but be destroy'd with it; if the Caution of *du Plessis*, and the Private Views of others of their Chiefs had not rais'd such fatal Divisions; if they had with one Voice resolv'd to defend their Edicts, and been as Industrious to Disunite their Enemies, as their Enemies were to cause Disunion among them, the Protestant Cause in France had not been such a lost one as it not long after prov'd to be. The Count de *Saisons* ill satisfied with the late Accommodation, the Dukes de *Mayenne* and de *Longueville* solicited the Assembly to form a new Confederacy to oppose the Favourite. Monsieur *du Plessis* was against trusting them; so the Protestants resolv'd to do their Business themselves, and not accept of any Assistance. A Shallow Policy! If they had secur'd the Interest of those Lords on their side, the Court would soon have given them the Terms they desir'd. The Favourite having so many Enemies to struggle with, would not have long continu'd the Reform'd in the Number of them; and those Catholick Lords ought as well to have suspected the *Hugonots* as the *Hugonots* to have suspected them. The Assembly offer'd the Marechal de *Lesdisguieres* the Command of an Army of 20000 Men, and to pay him 100000 Crowns a Year in any Protestant City of Europe he shou'd name; but the Marechal in Expectation of the Constable's Staff, promis'd him by *Deageant*, had sold his

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Honour and Conscience to the Court, given them Assurances of changing his Religion, and of heading Troops against the Protestants, when there was Occasion.

It was very necessary that the Reform'd shou'd not believe *Lesdisguieres* had abandon'd them; It wou'd have discourag'd the Assembly and the Provinces, the former therefore made new Instances to him to side with them, to mediate powerfully for them with the Ministry, or to lead their Army if a War was inevitable. *Lesdisguieres* reply'd, the Assembly were in the wrong to be so frightened, and to make such a Bustle; nevertheless he call'd God to Witness to his Zeal for the Welfare of the Reform'd Churches of France, and admonish'd them to Sperate. *I will remain faithful to you,* says he, *and serve the Church of God while I have Breath to draw in that Religion I profess.* At the same time were there Intreagu's between him and the Court for his Conversion, and the Office of Constable of France being to be reviv'd by the King, he declar'd he re-tard'd it in Favour of the Marechal *de Lesdisguieres*, whereas in truth *Luynes* got the Revival of it with intent to have it himself; but he was afraid to show the French that so envy'd a Dignity was reviv'd purely for the Sake of a Favourite of so little Merit, especially as a Soldier. The King, who really intended the Staff for *Lesdisguieres*, order'd his Commission to be sent him; but *Luynes* said, *It wou'd be enough for the Present to send him a Brevet only,* and dispatch'd *Bullion*, a Creature of his, to perswade *Lesdisguieres* to accept of the Title of Marechal General, with the Pay of 5000 Crowns a Month, for which he shou'd not be oblig'd to change his Religion. But alas, that was of no weight in so Important a Case as the Possession of the Constable's Staff. *Lesdisguieres* dissembled his Resentment, that his Name had been made use of to revive a Dignity for *Luynes*, and giving way to the Perswasions of *Deageant*, and his Wife *Mary Vignon*, he came to a Resolution to accept of the Favourite's offer. In the mean time the Bishop of

Lucon

Lucon press'd for the Execution of the Secret Article of the Treaty, by which he was to have a Cardinal's Cap after the Archbishop of *Toulouse* was provided with one; which being done, *Richlieu* began to grow Troublesome to have his at the Nomination of *France*. The Court in Appearance was dissatisfy'd, that the Pope had not given a more Satisfactory Answer to the Marquis de *Cevure* the French Ambassador on that Head. The Marquis was not let into the Secrer: *Luines*, jealous of the active and aspiring Génius of *Richlieu*, did not care to fire it too much, by Clothing him with the Roman Purple, and Intimation was given to the Cardinal Nephew that whatever Sollicitations the Ambassador us'd to obtain the Hat for the Bishop of *Lucon*, the King wou'd be better pleas'd if it was not granted him. The Marquis having presented several Memorials on that Subject, and receiving an Evasive Answer, at last threaten'd the Court of *Rome* with his Master's Resentment of such a Contempt put on his Recommendation; and talking after the same Manner at an Audience of his Holiness, the Pope shew'd him a Letter from the Duke de *Luines* wherein it was said that the King wou'd be better pleas'd if *Richlieu* had not the Hat than if he had it; *Cevure* in a Rage, to be thus made a Fool by the Favourite, demanded to be recall'd, but means were found out to make him easy in his Ambassy and to keep him where he was. The Favourite continu'd to complain of the little Difference paid to *Lewis* by the Court of *Rome* with respect to the Bishop of *Lucon*'s Hat; but *Lucon* saw thro' the Disguise, and rightly imagin'd that his Holiness would not be so Obstinate if there was not a Collision in the Matter. *Lesdisguieres* having Permission to Profess the Reform'd Religion, till the Constable's Staff was given him, cou'd not help showing a Concern for its Preservation, which was understood at Court as a Blind only, and did not give him that Character there, which he expected from the Influence he pretended to have over the Protestants. *Luines* depended on the Management of the

the Traytor *Deageant*, who had gain'd the Confidence of *Lesdisguieres* and his Wife. The main Instrument of *Deageant's* Power over the Mareschal, was a Chaplain of his, who being a Protestant, discover'd all the Secrets of the Party to him, by which means he knew how to Counterwork any Designs to engage *Lesdisguieres* to continue firm in the Interests of the *Hugonots*. *Deageant* obtain'd a Brief for that Minister from the Pope, who allow'd him to perform the Functions of his Ministry Three Years longer, on Condition he shou'd neither Preach against the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church, nor Administer the Sacraments according to the manner of the *Reform'd*. Such was the Damnable Hypocrisy of the Court of *Rome*, such the Hellish Treachery of some of the *Hugonots*. Alas! Where is there a Nation that the Temptations of the Court have no Power over; Where a People Proof against Bribery and Corruption? Do not we see Principle and Conscience sold daily, and why shou'd we so much admire at it in others, who have among our selves so many Instances of the same Vice, which this *Hugonot* Minister is charg'd with.

The Duke de *Luines* having so far wrought by his Agents, that *Lesdisguieres* consented to be himself a Petitioner to the King for the Constable's Staff for the Favourite, the Mareschal went to *Paris*: the Motive of his Journey was a mighty Mystery, but upon his Arrival, 'twas known it was to resign his Pretences to that Staff to *Luines*, whose Jealousy not being cur'd by that Resignation, he resolv'd to have him Arrested, and communicated his Design to *Deageant*, who depending now more on the Mareschal de *Lesdisguieres*, than on the Constable de *Luines*, appear'd in an extraordinary Emotion, when *Luines* propos'd it to him. *Stab me to the Heart*, says he, *if you will not suffer me to give Monsieur de Lesdisguieres Notice of the Design form'd against him. What Advantage will an Action be to you, which is so Injurious to the King's Reputation, which may perhaps*

perhaps ruin his Affairs, and bring on your self *Eternal Infamy*. The Duke hearken'd to his Counsel, and Deageant promis'd not to discover the Secret.

On the 22d of June, 1621, was the Ceremony of Enregistring the New Constable's Patent perform'd, the King, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Lords of the Court, particularly the Marechal General *de Lesdiguières* assisted at it; and Two Days after a Declaration was publish'd of the King's Intention to reduce the Assembly at *Rochelle* to Obedience by Force, which so terrify'd the Deputies, that they grew very desirous of a Treaty. But the Court consented to one only to gain time to provide Money and other Necessaries for the War; and when the People thought an Accommodation was at Hand, the King left *Paris*, and remov'd to *Tours*, where he immediately order'd the Offices of the Receipts of his Revenues, to be remov'd out of the *Reform'd Cities*; turn'd the Marquis *de la Force* out of his Government of *Bearn*, banish'd the Marquis's Son, who, at the same time had no small share of his Favours from Court, and sent the Duke d' *Epemon* into *Bearn*, to make a Conquest of that Principality; easily effected, when there were no hopes of Succours for the miserable *Bearnois*. The Court being resolv'd upon a War, the Assembly at *Rochelle* were not of Opinion, that the *Protestant Religion* oblig'd them to stand still, and offer their Throats to their Enemies Poinards. They consider'd their Strength, and how to make the best use of it. To which end the Protestants of *France* were divided into Eight Circles and Commanders appointed over each Circle, as follow.

The

- The Isle of France, } Design'd for the
 Normandy, } Duke de Bouillon,
 Picardy, } who was also of-
 Beauſſe, } ter'd to be Genera-
 The First Circle, Berry, } liſſimo of the whole
 conſiſting of } Anjou, } Reform'd Forces,
 } Maine, } but he excus'd him-
 } Perche, } ſelf on account of
 } Tourain. } his Age.
- Poitou, }
 Bretagne, } To be Command-
 The Second Circle, } ed by the Duke de
 conſiſting of } The City, } Soubize, the Duke
 } and Iſle of } de Rohan's Brother.
 } Bouchard. }
- Angoumois, }
 Saintonge, } By the Duke de la
 The Third Circle, } And } Trimouille.
 conſiſting of } The Iſlands. }
- Lower Guy- }
 The Fourth Circle, } By the Marquis de
 conſiſting of } enne. } la Force.
- Bearne, and }
 The Fifth Circle, } its Depen- } By the Marquis
 conſiſting of } dencies. } de — Son to the
 } Marq. de la Force.
- Languedoc, }
 and the Up- } By the Duke de la
 The Sixth Circle, } per Guyenne. } Rohan.
 conſiſting of }
- Lower Languedoc, }
 the Ceven- } By the Marquis de
 The Seventh Circle, } nes, Givau- } Chatillon:
 conſiſting of } dan, and }
 } Vivarets. }

The

The Eighth Circle, consisting of Burgundy, Provence, And Dauphine, } By the Marechal de Lesdisguieres, from whom it could not be taken.

Rochelle was made a Particular Circle apart from the rest, and left to the Government of the Mayor. Here we see a Form of a Settlement, which had little else besides the Form. The Three most Powerful Circles were left to Commanders, who wou'd not act; and of all of them, there was only that of Upper *Guyenne* which made any Resistance in the First Year of the War. We have seen how Monsieur *du Plessis Mornay* temporiz'd; we have given many Instances of his Over-Cautious Temper: He has a Character of Probity and Wisdom, otherwise wou'd one not think he had Interests to manage with the Court, or he wou'd not have stood out till he was turn'd out of his Government; one of the Bulwarks of the Protestants in *France*. The Duke de *Bouillon*, tho' he wou'd not take on him any Command, gave the Assembly good Advice, and particulary as to their taking Care of *Saumur*, into which he advis'd them to put 6000 Men, which being neglected, the King sent a Message to *du Plessis*, to draw out his Garrison; he intending to come and Lodge in the Castle. This being done, he was told his Majesty design'd to keep it Three Months, and indeed *du Plessis* was never restor'd to his Government, which was given to the Count de *Saulx*, Grandson to *Lesdisguieres*, and a pretended Protestant, but the Garrison was *Popish*. I shall not enter into the Particulars of this War: the Treachery and Cowardice of the *Hugonot* Officers, and the Desertion of their Generals, made the Work easy for the King's Forces: The Towns open'd their Gates as fast as they approach'd to them, and only *St. Jean d'Angeli* and *Montauban* stood on their Defence: The Glorious Resistance made by the latter, shews that if the other Lords had been as Zealous and

as Brave as the Duke *de Rohan*, the Protestants might have compell'd their Enemies to observe the many Edicts that had been Sworn to by this King and his Father. Instead of which, the Marquisses *de Charillon*, and *de la Force*, were gain'd by *Lutins* to stand Neuter. The Duke *de Bouillon* was the same, as also the Duke *de la Trimoille*; and the Marechal *de Lesdiguières* having bully'd the Assembly at *Rochele*, offer'd to Command the Army that the King wou'd lend against those of the Religion which had been so serviceable to him in his Advancement. The King having laid Siege to *St Jean d'Angeli*, and taken it, thought to have done the same by *Montauban*, which defended it self so well, that after the Loss of above 8000 Men, and among the rest the Duke *de Mayenne*, the King and Constable were forc'd to raise the Siege; a great Slur upon the King's Glorious Campaign, in which he had taken Fifty Towns that had not Fir'd a Gun in their own Defence.

I shall not insert the several Declarations and Manifestos publish'd on one side and the other. The Court, to render the Protestants Odious, pretended they were against Monarchy, and design'd to set up a Common Wealth at *Rochele*. This was the Scandal the *Papists* blacken'd the *Reform'd* with, and represented 'em as fit only for Destruction, on account of their Antimonarchical Principles, tho' 'tis well known, that the *Hugonots* have been the most Loyal of any of the Subjects of France, ever since the *Reformation*. But as it was then, so has it been since, the Practice of the *Papists* and their Abettors. When a stop is put to their Persecution and Cruelties, *The Church is immediately in Danger*: When Arms is taken for the Maintenance of Laws and Liberties, 'tis *Rebellion*: When Religion or Rights are Vindicated by Argument, 'tis *Sedition*. Such is the Usage that True Protestants are every where to expect from their Adversaries.

The Disgrace that the King met with before *Montauban*, was imputed to the Constable *de Luins*'s want of Valour and Experience, and the

Murmurs against his Tyranny encreas'd daily. The King himself, either out of the Inconstancy of his Temper or the goodness of his Nature, would have been glad to have given his Subjects the Pleasure of seeing this his Skillful Falconer sent to catch Birds again. When his Majesty was at Cognac in Guyenne, Luines one Day came to the Castle in great Pomp, his Guards and his Suissers march'd before him, and the Principal Officers of the Army behind him, Lewis was standing at the Window, and being without Attendance, was piqu'd at the Pompous enterance of his Favourite into the Castle, telling Bassompierre, who stood by him, *There comes the King*, Bassompierre artfully reply'd, No, Sir, 'tis a Constable belov'd by his Master, who exposes to the Eyes of the People the Bounty and Power of the Prince who rais'd him. Lewis took him up, saying, *You don't know him, he thinks I owe all the rest to him; dazzl'd with his Fortune, he wou'd set up for King, but I shall take care to hinder him.* Bassompierre answer'd, *You are unhappy Sir, to have such Fancies enter into your Head, such sort of Jealousies as this will not hurt Monsieur the Constable; and your doing me the Honour of this Confidence may perhaps need your Majesty's Protection one of these Days; you may fall out one with another, and you will soon be Friends again. What will be the End of it? The same that happens to Men and their Wives when they Quarrel, they agree together to turn off the Servants that were witnesses of it; you will tell Monsieur de Luines that you discover'd your Dissatisfaction to me and others, and we shall be the Victims. Your Majesty may remember that his Imagining only that you had a Kindness for me, was almost the cause of my Ruin last Year, what will he not do, if he shou'd know what you have now said to me? The King Swore he would never speak a word of it to his Favourite, tho' they should be as good Friends as ever. I have told my mind, says Lewis, only to Father Arnoux, say nothing of it to him, keep it Secret till I permit you to tell it. There's no need, Sir, reply'd Bassompierre, to command me to hold my Tongue, my Fortune and my Life depend upon it.*

Luines

Luines had not a Party to support him; the Court Lords and the Lords in the Provinces, out of Envy to his prodigious Greatness, were all ready to contribute to his Fall. The croud of Officers that surrounded him at the Entrance into the Castle of *Cognac* would have abandon'd him at once, if the King had had the Courage to have Frown'd upon him; all his Greatness would have vanish'd like a Dream, and this Object of Envy been in a Minute an Object of Contempt. Yet had not *Lewis* the XIIIth, Resolution enough to assert his own Authority, and tho he himself was one of the Enviars of the Fortune he had himself made, yet he was forc'd to let it be a Canker to his Mind, and to let his Envy feed upon it as ravenously as it did upon his Courtiers and Servants.

Lewis was not, one wou'd think, a Prince Born to raise the Grandeur of the *French* Monarchy to a height it had not known since the Reign of *Charles* the Great; he who did not dare to let one of his Subjects know that he cou'd Love him no longer; yet so it was, and all his Delight was to rail at him to those who had Courage enough to hear it. I shall instance in a Passage or two more of this kind, which will give one a lively Idea of *Lewis's* Weakness and Irresolution. King *James* the First of *England* had seen the danger the Reform'd Church of *France* was in, with the same temper of Mind as he had concern'd himself in the Fate of his Son-in-Law the King of *Bohemia*, expell'd from that Kingdom and his Hereditary Dominions the Palatinate. He was Deaf to the Clamours of his Subjects, and wou'd assist neither the *Palatine* nor the *Huguenots*; his good Offices he cou'd not deny them, and his Ambassadors were always running up and down to no purpose. This Pacifick Monarch was well known in all the Courts of *Europe*, and their Negotiations were taken no more notice of than they deserv'd, being in the Name of a Prince who abhor'd Action, without which Counsel is seldom Successful in Emergencies. Pursuant to his usual method, the King

of England, instead of Succour, sent a *Scotchman*, the Lord *Hay*, to interceed for the Protestants of France. King *Lewis* was then before *Montauban*, and seeing the Ambassador going to *Luines's* Lodgings, he said to *Bassompierre* and *Puisieux* Secretary, of State, He is going to have his Audience of King *Luines*. *Bassompierre* was surpriz'd to hear the King speak so freely before a Third Person, and made as if he did not understand his meaning. *There's no fear of Puisieux*, says his Majesty, *He's in the Secret*. *Bassompierre* answer'd, *You think there's no need to fear any Thing, and I am certainly ruin'd, Monsieur de Puisieux is as timorous as the Chancellor his Father; He'l confess all to the Constable at the first Word, and those that are in the Secret will be disgrac'd*. Be satisfy'd, says the King, Smiling, *I will Answer for Puisieux*. Notwithstanding *Lewis* had given this Politick *Lorrainer* his Word, he was loath to rely upon it; and to secure himself on the side of the Constable, he thought it best to give him a hint to stand upon his Guard with respect to his Behaviour towards the King, *Give me leave Sir*, said he to *Luines*, to represent to you as your most humble Servant, that you are a little too Careless of the King's Favour; he thinks himself at Age, he grows daily more acquainted with Business, more Attentive, more Dissident, and consequently you ought to cultivate his good Graces with more assiduity then ever; Besides, he is incessantly loading you with Favours, which requires greater Acknowledgments. For God's Sake take care, and Pardon me for the Liberty I take, you see 'tis only an Effect of my Zeal for your Service. *Luines* Thank'd *Bassompierre* for his Frankness, and seem'd to take it kindly, I'll only tell you, added the Constable, that I know the King, and as I knew how to gain his Favour know how to keep it; I must put him a little out of Humour sometimes, it serves rather to augment than to diminish his Friendship to me. Upon which I met with these Reflections, so agreeable to certain other Instances in History, that I cannot think the Reader will be displeas'd to have them translated from the French Author to the Letter.

Bass-

"*Bassompierre* saw then that *Luines* was like other Favourites, these Men believe their Fortune is Fix'd and Eternal; they do not perceive their Disgrace till the Prince says the Word, *Luines* was blind to what every one else saw plainly. His Master continually complain'd of him, yet he remain'd in wonderful Indolence." King *Lewis* carry'd his Spite to the Constable so far, that he told him, the Duke *de Chevreuse* was in Love with his Wife, and that the Lady was not insensible. He did this on purpose to vex him, tho' 'tis probable the Fact was true enough, for not long after the Constable's Death the Duke marry'd her. The King confess'd He took Pleasure in being reveng'd of an Ingrate, by vexing him as he had done with this Story. In six Weeks time, added he, I will make him disgorge all he has taken from me. This is the Prince whose Wisdom and Valour the Flatterers of France have recorded as the wonder of his Age; this the Hero for whom they cou'd find so many Parallels in History, who glories in the Revenge he had taken of his Favour, by telling him he was a Cuckold. To what Divinities do some Men raise Alters, but their Sacrifice is as base as the Deities to whom it is offer'd.

The Ministry of *Luines*, like that of other such Favourites, affords great variety of Examples of Ingratitude to Benefactors. As soon as any Courtier conceiv'd hopes of Establishing himself in the King's Favour, he no longer had regard to the Favourite that introduc'd them. *Rucellai*, the Italian, was fast Friend to the Marechal *D'Ancre*, upon his Death he was Zealous for the Interest of the Queen Mother. Being disgusted at her Court, he offer'd himself to *Luines*, who knowing his Intriguing Spirit, accepted of his Service, and admitted him into his Confidence.

Du Perron, Archbishop of Sens dying, *Luines* recommended *Rucellai* to that Bishoprick; *Arnoux*, the King's Confessor, thinking himself a greater Favourite than he soon after found he was pretended to oppose his Promotion out of Conscience. The Ita-

lian being a Man of Amorous as well as Political Intrigues, the King who was a Bigot every way gave the Bishoprick to another, and the Favourite to be reveng'd of *Arnoux*, demanded his Banishment from Court, which his Majesty had not Resolution enough to deny, tho' 'twas his Confidence in the Jesuit that made the Constable his Enemy.

Luines had not enjoy'd that High Dignity Eight Months when he fell Sick of a Malignant Fever, and dy'd at the Siege of *Monhurs* in *Guyenne*, the 14th of December 1621. What was the Consequence of the Death of this Prodigy of Fortune? Such as will surely attend the Death of all Favourites without Virtue or Merit. His Master shew'd not the least Concern for the loss of him, his Moveables and Equipage were pillag'd before the Breath was scarce out of his Body; insomuch, that there was not a Sheet left to Bury him in; 'tis said, the Abbot *Rucellai* gave Money to Embalm his Corpse and transport it to the new Dutchy of *Luines*. He had Two Surviving Brothers, the Dukes *de Chaulnes* and *de Luxemburgh*. Did neither of these whose Fortune he had made, dare to be at the expence of the Funeral? Could there be such Ingrates in *France*? Let the Scene be laid where it will, as soon as an unworthy Favourite is no more, such may he expect will be the treatment his Memory will meet with. There were so many Libels and Lampoons publish'd against *Luines* when he was Dead, that they made a pretty large Collection; never was any Man so vilify'd, so abus'd, if a Man can be said to be abus'd of whom the Truth itself must be an Invective. His Successors in the King's Favour were so far from giving a Check to the Satyr which appear'd against him, that the Flatterers who courted them, thought it the surest way to their Favour.

Upon the Death of *Luines*, the Prince of *Conde* made all possible haste to *Bourdeaux* where the King stay'd some time, in hopes to make his Market of the Vacancy of a Favourite. The Two Courtiers who seem'd to have most Power over the King, were the Cardinal *de Retz* and the Count

de Schomberg, who insinuated to him, that now was the Time for him to take the Reins into his own Hand, and that he shou'd only consult some Persons whom he cou'd confide in. This Flattering Advice pleasing his Majesty, the Advisers presently appear'd to have most Authority with him, and with the New Keeper of the Seals. *De Vic* manag'd every thing at Court. The Management they knew wou'd fall to their share, if they cou'd keep the King in this Mind, and prevent his suffering again a single Favourite. The *Mareschal de Crequi*, the *Mareschals de Praslin*, *de Chaulnes*, *Bassompierre* and some other great Officers, for whom the King had an Esteem, did their utmost to hinder the Establishment of this New Ministry. They knew it was of Absolute Necessity for them to prevent it in time, for if they shou'd suffer it to be ever so little fix'd, it wou'd not be easy for them to gain upon a Prince's Affections, who gave them entire if he gave them at all. They therefore resolv'd to cross it in its Infancy.

Bassompierre, who had the politest and gayest way of Talking in the World, alarm'd this *Triumvirate*, and they found he wou'd be too hard for them, if they cou'd not remove him from Court, which they therefore endeavour'd, under pretence of leaving him to Command in *Guyenne*, in Quality of Lieutenant General: But he had the Skill to ward the Blow, by telling his Majesty he had rather be near his Person, and discharge his Office of Colonel General of the *Swiss*, than have the other, tho' it was so Honourable.

His Majesty was now in his Two and Twentieth Year, the Year in which our late *Glorious Monarch* deliver'd the *Seven Provinces* from an Invader, that by Numbers and Treachery had penetrated into the very Heart of *Holland*. What was the Bravery, what the Conduct of that Immortal *HERO*? Did he give himself to the Government of Minions? Did not his own Head, his own Heart and Hand, work those Miracles for the Deliverance of his Country? Say not then, that

Princes at that Age are incapable of Government: Say rather, that the Prince who is then incapable, will never be otherwise; and that the Reign of Lewis the XIIIth, was one continu'd Minority, under which an Imperious Priest laid the Foundation of a most hateful Tyranny, and most Formidable Empire.

The Death of *Luines*, as has been hinted, having given Rise to Two Parties at Court, the *Military Men*, and the *Men of Honour*, were for making Peace with the *Reform'd*. The Clergy and the Men of the Robe, were for continuing the War. The Prince of *Conde* finding the Cardinal *de Retz* at the Head of the latter, fell in with them, not doubting he shou'd have the Superiority in a Ministry of so little Experience and Capacity. The weight of the Prince of *Conde*, turn'd the Scale to their Side, and *Bassompierre* was oblig'd to set the King on all Occasions against them, the other Lords of his Party not knowing how to do it, and have it well taken, as any thing was from him, his Wit and his Manner were so agreeable. These Lords, instill'd into his Majesty an Aversion to the *Triumvirate*, by representing to him that they pretended to have him as much in Dependance as *Luines*. That his Majesty was perpetually teaz'd by them, and under Colour of State Affairs, That they were always intruding into his Presence. One Day as Lewis was about to Play with his Courtiers before Supper, the Cardinal *de Retz*, *Schomberg*, and the Keeper of the Seals enter'd the Room. Good God! said the King to *Bassompierre*, How troublesome these Men are? They come to Torment me when I am going to Divert my self, and frequently they have nothing to say to me. *Bassompierre*, who knew how to improve all Opportunities, reply'd, How Sir, do these Gentlemen come without being sent for? Did they not demand when Your Majesty wou'd be at Leisure to consult with them, about something of which they had before given Notice? The King answer'd, No, They come when they please, and very often when it
does

does not please me, as at this time Jesus! cry'd Bassompierre, This is treating you like a School-Boy; what do they set up to be your Pedagogues, to teach you your Lesson when they think fit? Sir, you must act like a King, when you are on a Journey, and come to any Place, a Secretary of State ought to acquaint Your Majesty whether any thing has happen'd, that requires your Summoning a Council. You then Name the Present, or any other Time, which is the most Commodious for you. If these Gentlemen have any thing to say to you, they ought to let you know what it is, and wait Your Order for them to attend you. This was the King your Father's way; take this Method, and when these Men come without being sent for, e'en send 'em back as they came. The King mightily pleas'd with Bassompierre's advice to exert his Royal Authority, made as if he did not see those Ministers, and enter'd into Discourse with the Marechal de Praslin. The Prince of Conde observing it, went to him, and said, The Ministers wait to enter into Council. What Council, Monsieur, said his Majesty somewhat angrily, I did not send for them, they'l in time make me their Valet. Let 'em go back if they will, and come when I order them; they must take my Time, and not I theirs. A Secretary of State shall every Day come and tell me what has happen'd, and as I think proper, I will order a Council to be Summon'd. For in Fine, I am Master. Is it not pleasant, to see how this mighty Monarch has learnt the Lesson Bassompierre has taught him, and makes use of his very Words? The Prince perceiv'd that the Lorrainer had put a Trick upon 'em, he went and inform'd the Ministers of it; they were extremely mortify'd, and to save Appearances the Prince returning to the King, told him, the Cardinal de Retz, the Count de Schomberg, and the Keeper of the Seals, were there as Simple Courtiers only. Adding, 'Tis fit Your Majesty shou'd at least speak one Word to them. So he advanc'd towards them, and said, Messieurs, I am going to Play with this good Company.

Pamy. So easy was this Monarch, so lightly did he Love and Hate. Those that had his Person, had the Government; and he gave himself almost to every Body that came at him.

During the Winter, several Councils were held on the Affairs of the *Hugonots*. The President *Jean-nin* represented to the King with great Force of Reason and Eloquence, the Danger and Injustice of continuing the War. The Queen Mother, the Chancellor *de Sillery*, the Mareschal *de Crequi*, Monsieur *Bassompierre*, and several others, were of the same Opinion with the President. The Prince *de Conde*, the Cardinal *de Retz*, the Count *de Schomberg* and their Cabal, were for suppressing them by Arms, which could not have been done, had it not been for the Divisions among them. *Lesdisguieres* is no more to be look'd upon as one of them. The Circle of *Lower Languedoc* having Elected the Duke *de Rohan* their General, in prejudice of the Marquis *de Chatillon*, the latter, who had a great many Friends, especially among the Protestant *Noblesse*, obstructed the Measures they took to defend themselves. *Lesdisguieres* attack'd, and took the Places belonging to the *Reform'd* in the *Kivaretz*, but put Protestant Governors into them, depending entirely upon himself, which did him double Service. It amus'd the *Reform'd*, with hopes that he would not desert them, and made the Court more sensible of the Necessity they were in to give him the Constable's Staff in exchange for his Conversion. The Cabal finding the greatest Part of the Council were against the Continuance of the War, did not care to take it wholly on themselves, therefore a Treaty was, for Form sake, set a Foot. 'Twas manag'd by *Lesdisguieres* and *Rohan*, the former for the Court, and the latter for the Protestants. The Articles were as good as agreed on by them, consisting chiefly of an Act of Oblivion, a Confirmation of the Edicts, and Satisfaction to the Lords who had lost their Places and Governments. The Prince of *Conde* and his Party, represented to the King, that the Demands of the Protestants were Exorbitant, and that he ought not to treat with Rebels but with

Sword

Sword in Hand. That the Duke *de Soubize* had possess'd himself of most of the strong Holds in *Poitou*; That the Dukes *de Montmerency* and *de Guise*, cou'd not together make Head against the Duke *de Rohan*; and that if the *Hugonots* made Peace while their Affairs were Flourishing, it must be on such Terms as wou'd tempt them to Rebel again on every slight Occasion. This was enough to determine *Lewis* to leave *Paris*, and enter upon Action in the Spring, when it was expected the Peace wou'd soon be concluded. The King went out of the Back-Gate of the *Louvre* about *Easter*, and Posted to *Orleans*, in order to put himself at the Head of an Army. His Precipitate Departure alarm'd the whole City, and every one thought there was some great Mystery in it. The Truth is, the Cabal wou'd not let him remain with Counsellors that endeavour'd to inspire him with Sentiments suitable to the Justice and Clemency of a Christian King. When he arriv'd at *Orleans*, they knew not which way he shou'd march; on the one Hand the Counts *de Rochefaucault* and *St. Luc* were press'd by *Soubize*, in *Poitou*; on the other, the Duke *de Rohan* grew strong in *Lower Languedoc*. It was resolv'd therefore, to order the Duke *d' Epemon* to joyn the Two Counts, and act against *Soubize*; but *d' Epemon* had his Hands full in *Guyenne*, and having set his Heart upon reducing or humbling the *Rochellers*, he wou'd not go out of his Government. The King sent him Orders upon Orders, but the Duke wou'd Obey none of them. Here's the Loyalty of a Bigot, a *Papist* and a *French Man*. *D' Epemon* refus'd to Obey his Majesty's reiterated Commands, and did it at last in Terms that shew'd he valu'd not the Threatnings which were to be the Punishment of his Disobedience. The King in a great Rage, march'd to *Poitou* in Person, and having an Army twice as strong as that of *Soubize*, the latter thought fit to retreat, which he cou'd not do so successfully, but that he lost the best Part of his Forces, and himself, with Difficulty, escap'd to *Rochelle*, attended by about 100 Horse. The King express'd such a Desire to Fight the *Hu-*
gonot

gonots, that his Flatterers did not stick to compare his passing a Monast in the Night, to the Emperor Charles the VIth's passing the Elbe in sight of the Enemy's Army, and Alexander's passing the Granicus to Fight the Persians. Nay, Bassompierre himself tells us, that Henry IV was not so intrepid as his Son Lewis the XIIIth. But as this Action is the most shining of all his Military History, I think one had better find out some other Heroick Qualities, both for him and his Son, and ascribe Valour to the House of Bourbon, in the Navarre's and the Conde's only. This Success of the Kings, so animated the Court, that when the Deputies brought him the Propositions of Peace, concerted between de Lesdiguières and de Rohan, they were refer'd to the Queen Mother at Paris, and by her to the Chancellor Sillery, to delay Time, that the King might reduce Guyenne and Languedoc by Arms, which was render'd the more easy, by the Desertion of the Marquis de la Force, who, after a shew of great Zeal and Resolution in the Defence of the Religion he profess'd, traffick'd with the Court to betray it for a Marechal's Batoon, and 200000 Crowns in Money, as an Amends for the Loss of the Government of Bearne, and other Posts possess'd by him and his Sons. Thus was the good Cause of Liberty and Religion sacrific'd to Avarice and Ambition; and thus it is that the Court of France, by Titles and Places, corrupted those that call'd themselves Lovers of their Country; which, to the enslaving of themselves and their Fellow Subjects, they so basely betray'd on so many Occasions. Not long after, the Marquis de Charillon had also the Marechal's Batoon given him, and they both surrender'd the Places they or their Friends held to the King.

While his Majesty was in Languedoc, whither he march'd thro' Guyenne, after the Victory obtain'd over Soubize, he heard the Queen Consort and the Queen Mother were coming to give him a Visit. He appointed the Meeting to be at Lyons. During his stay in that Province, the Ministers were Caballing for the Superiority in the Ministry. They not only

only made the King do what they pleas'd, they made him love whom they pleas'd; and the Prince of *Conde*, the Cardinal *de Retz*, and the Count *de Schomberg*, observing the Influence Monsieur *Puissieux*, Secretary of State, gain'd daily over the King to maintain themselves in their Ministry, they resolv'd to offer Monsieur *de Bassompierre*, who was very much in his Majesty's Favour, the Post of *Favourite*. Can any thing be more Merry, and yet *Bassompierre* in his Journal, *Tome II* assures us that both at *Sainte Foi*, *Agen* and *Moissac*, the first Prince of the Blood, the Cardinal and the Count, seriously offer'd him the Place of Favourite to the King; he afterwards tells us the very Discourse he had with the Prince of *Conde* on that Head, his Reasons for refusing so whimsical a Proposition, and that his refusal made the Prince his Enemy.

Having so often made mention of the Marechal *de Lesdiguières* and his intended Apostacy for the Constable's Staff, which was the Temptation that made him quit a Religion to which his Morals were a Disgrace, it will not now be improper to give the particulars of his Conversion and Promotion to the first Military Dignity in *France*. He had been a little on the Reserve with the Court, who knowing that it was in his Power to recover the Affairs of the *Reform'd* in *Languedoc*, and to make their Destruction impracticable, on which they were passionately bent, came at last to a Resolution to give him the Staff. *Deageant* was order'd to tell him, that there was no Obstacle in his way but his Religion, which he seem'd to part with not very willingly, and, as if he did it more in Compliance with his Majesty's frequent Sollicitations than for the sake of the Honour that was to be confer'd on him, *Lesdiguières* having given Assurance that he was ready to renounce his Protestantism, the Marechal *de Crequi* his Son-in-Law was dispatch'd to him with his Patent for Constable. The Parliament of *Grenoble* were sent for to assist at the Farce that was about to be play'd; the Magistrates and a numerous Assembly attended the new Con-
stable,

stable, and *Crequi* made him the following Speech: Sir, I have frequently acquainted you that the King wou'd Honour you with the Constable's Staff, provided you wou'd turn Catholick; you have promis'd to declare to me your Intention, I beg you to do it in the Presence of these Gentlemen of the Parliament whom I have desir'd to be Witnesses of your Answer. Sir, reply'd *Lesdisguieres* with great Gravity, I have always obey'd the King's Orders, I am a Catholick and dispos'd to do whatever his Majesty shall please to command me. Then turning to the Magistrates, he said, Come Gentlemen, let's to Mass. Such was the Conversion of the Leaders of the Reform'd in France. The Duke de *Sulli* was indeed offer'd to be restor'd in his Post of Superintendant of the Finances, possess'd by the Count de *Schomberg*, if he wou'd turn Catholick, but he generously rejected the offer; the same did the Dukes de *Rohan* and de *Soubize*, the latter went to England after his Escape to *Rochelle*, to mediate Succor in a Court that was frighted at the very Name of War, and the former with extream vigor animated the Protestants to defend their Religion in the Places that were within his Circle. The Duke de *Bauillon* seeing the Papists had vow'd the Destruction of the Reform'd, enter'd into a Negotiation with Count *Mansfeldt*, who was retir'd out of Germany with an Army rais'd for the Service of the King of *Bohemia*, and was then on the Frontiers of France; but the Court having Intimation of it, out-bid the Protestants, and *Mansfeldt* led his Troops to the Netherlands, where they had no better Success than they had had in Germany: The Reform'd being disappointed of those expected Succours, *Rochelle* block'd up by the Count de *Soissons*, and *Monpellier* besieg'd, the Duke de *Rohan* began to cool in his Prosecution of the War, and to desire a Negotiation of Peace, which was made the more easy for that the Cardinal de *Retz* and de *Vic*, Keeper of the Seals, were lately Dead, and the Prince of *Conde* had now no Body to support his Interest but the Count de *Schomberg*. He therefore try'd it to the utmost to get *Aligre* made Keeper, but

but by the Artifices of *Bassompierre*, *Caumartin* had the Seals given him : The Prince of *Conde's* Influence in the Council daily diminish'd, and with that the Heat of the Court for Prosecuting the War. Both sides were weary of it, and the Treaty that was renew'd between the Constable *de Lesdiguières* and the Duke *de Rohan* met with few Difficulties; the Prince of *Conde* finding it was not in his Power to hinder the Peace, and that he had lost all his Authority, left the Court under pretext of a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Loretto*.

A few Days after he was gone, the Peace was Proclaim'd in the Camp before *Montpellier* the 19th of *October* 1622. and the Declaration Registerd in the Parliament of *Paris* the 22d of *November*. The Articles were much the same as had been granted on the like occasion, the Edicts were again confirm'd, the Towns of security continu'd in Protestants Hands. There were to be no Political Assemblies of the *Reform'd* without the King's Leave, but Provincial and National Synods were allow'd; by a Private Article the Duke *de Rohan* had a Million of Livres granted him, and a Pension of 10000 Crowns a Year as Satisfaction for the loss of the Government of *Poitou*, and for that of *St. Jean de Angeli* he had the Government of *Nismes* and *Uzes*; *Soubize's* Pension was continu'd, and *Calonge*, the Brave Governor of *Montpellier*, obtain'd one of 6000 Livres. Thus did these Lords provide for themselves as well as for their Religion, which by the War had lost its best Barrier, no less than Fourscore Places were taken from them; the Heads of that Party despairing of recovering the Ground they had lost, thought of reconciling themselves to the Court, and abandoning a Cause that was so Desperate. This Treaty was as ill observ'd as the rest, and what better cou'd be expected when the Chancellor *de Sillery* wrote to his Brother, then Ambassador at *Rome*, to assure the Pope that it was only the necessity of the King's Affairs which made him treat with the Hereticks, whom he wou'd not fail to pursue with Fire and Sword, and that he had given 'em Peace only to Surprize and Destroy them the more easily.

I shall not follow *Lewis* in his Progress to *Avignon*, *Grenoble*, and thence to *Lyons* to meet the Queens as is above-mention'd. Festivals and Shows are no part of Secret History, nor the Pompous Installation of *Richlieu* in the Roman Purple in the Archiepiscopal Palace of *Lyons*. The Queen Mother, whose Credit was greater at Court than it had been since the Death of *D'Ancre*, did not give over pressing the King to procure the Hat for her Favourite till it was obtain'd. He having receiv'd it, carry'd it to her Majesty, and throwing it at her Feet, among other Things told her, *The Purple that he ow'd to her Goodness, wou'd make him always keep in remembrance the Solemn Vow which he made to spend the last drop of his Blood in her Service.* Bear this in Mind Reader, this Solemn Vow of a Roman Cardinal and Bishop, let us see what is the Value of French Vows, what the Dependance on the Faith of such a Minister. The Cardinal *de Richlieu* is to make so considerable a Figure in the sequel of this History, that it will not be impertinent to be a little more particular in the Circumstances of his receiving this Dignity.

There was a French Gentleman at the Court of *Savoy*, who had been forc'd to quit that of *France* by Reason of some Disgust he had given the Bishop of *Lucon*; this Gentleman who passionately desir'd to be reconcil'd to the Bishop, happen'd to be in the Duke of *Savoy's* Presence when the Courier who brought the News of the Promotion of Cardinals, deliver'd him his Letters, which were immediately open'd to know the Names of those whom the Pope had promoted to the Purple. The Duke read out the Names of Four of the New Cardinals and the Fifth being the Bishop of *Lucon*, it came presently into the Gentleman's Head, that if he cou'd carry the First News of it to the Bishop, it might restore him to his Favour, and finding he had time enough to reach *Lyons* before the Courier, he took Post immediately, and made such haste, that he got thither Two Hours before the Express. He went directly to the Bishop's Apartment, who was

no less surpriz'd at his Arrival than to see him at his Feet ; but when he understood from him the News of his Promotion, and how he came by his Intelligence, he abandon'd himself to such an excess of Joy, and after such an extravagant Manner, as if the giving him the Cap had depriv'd him of his Reason. He forgot all the Gravity and Decorum of his Character, insomuch, that the Gentleman was more than ever afraid of his Hatred, having been a witness of his Transports ; which however the Bishop did not much matter, only admonish'd him not to say a word of what he had seen, nor to appear at Court till after the Courier was arriv'd. The good Prelate recollecting himself, compos'd the Disorders of his Mind, and the first Rap- tures being over when the Queen Mother sent for him to impart the Welcome News to him, he receiv'd it with such a Careless Hypocrisy, as if his Soul had been above such a Transitory Dignity. The Gravity which he had time to study, acquir'd him a great Reputation, and caus'd the Courtiers to speak many Things in his Commendation.

Let us now see with what Sincerity the *French* Court dealt in the Performance of the Treaty of Peace. The Duke *de Rohan* waited on the King at *Lyons* to Sollicit, and the Deputies of *Rochelle* did the same, to obtain the Demolition of *Fort Lewis* as was stipulated in that Treaty. The Ministers wrote to the Commander accordingly, but sent another Letter by a shorter way, wherein he was order'd not to give Credit to that which wou'd be brought him by the Deputies, who were answer'd with Scorn, and instead of Demolishing the Fort, it was put into a better State of Defence. The Duke *de Rohan's* Person was also secur'd when he return'd to *Montpelier* by *Valence*, whom the King had left there with a considerable Garrison. This Notorious Breach of the Peace, gave offence even to the Moderate Catholicks ; and *Puisieux* who was the Occasion of it, to ingratiate himself with the Pope's Nuntio, was glad of the Queen Consort's,

interposition to bring him well off of a very Intricate Affair. The young Princess had appointed a Ball, wherein the Dutches of Rohan was to bear a considerable Part, and every thing was ready when the News of the Duke's Imprisonment arriv'd; the Dutches insisted upon it, that 'twas not decent for her to assist at a meeting of Pleasure while her Husband was in Prison, upon which the Queen promis'd to engage for his Discharge, and procur'd it on Condition he should retire into Upper *Languedoc*.

The Protestants having submitted to his Majesty's Pleasure in expectation of the Performace of their Treaties and Edicts, and perceiving that was what the Court never intended, held a National Synod at *Charenton*, to endeavour to find out means to prevent the entire Oppression with which their Churches were threatn'd. The Court thought of an Expedient to hinder their Meetings having any Effect, and that was by Publishing a Declaration, requiring them to admit a Commissioner to sit with them at all those Assemblies, such a one of the same Religion as the King or the Governors of Provinces should Name; which Commissioner being a Creature of theirs, by his Intrigues and Presence wou'd frustrate the Councils of those that were Zealous for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, which the Favourites and Ministers of *Lewis* were bent upon Destroying, and their Master whom they govern'd in every thing, was but too well dispos'd to hearken to any Measures to effect it.

The Bishop of *Lucon* who had had of *Mary de Medicis* in Presents to the Value of 900000 Crowns, and a Service of Plate for his Chappel of Immense Price, having now also the *Roman Purple*, his Mistress did her utmost to bring him into the Ministry, hoping that by means of his Superior Genius, her own Authority wou'd be the greater. The Chancellor *de Silleri*, and *de Puisieux* his Son, the Secretary of State, had the sole Management of Affairs, and knowing the Ambition of that Prelate, they threw as many Obstacles as they cou'd in

in the way of his Advancement. The King was so set against him, that he hardly ever Nam'd him, but with this Epithet, the Rogue *Richlieu*; and when the Queen Mother press'd her Son to give him a Place in the Council, he reply'd, *Both you and I have good Reason to distrust a Man of so much Cunning and Pride, I know him better than you, Madam.* However the Queen was so prepossess'd in Favour of her Creature, that she took every thing that was said to his Dishonour as downright Falsties and Invectives. 'Tis said this King who had at least the Gift of Continence, abhor'd him for his Lewdness, which one wou'd think shou'd have been no great Recommendation of him to his Mother. *Richlieu* finding the Chancellor and Secretary oppos'd his admission into the Council, he form'd a Party against them, into which enter'd the Prince of *Conde*, the Count *de Soissons*, and even *Vieuville*, who had obtain'd the Post of Superintendent of the Finances meerly by the Interest of Father and Son. I shall not give the Reasons of their Hatred to the Chancellor and Secretary of State, there is something too particular in it. The Dukes *de Guise* and *Montmerency* with their Families were profess'd Enemies to those Two Ministers, and *Richlieu* saw they wou'd not be long able to support themselves; *Vieuville* represented them to his Majesty as in the Interest of the Pope and Court of *Madrid*, and the King took a Disgust to the Chancellor for that he was always against his Travelling and making Progresses, which he took great Delight in. Favourites are the last that see the Precipice on which they stand. *Silleri* in the End perceiv'd that his Disgrace was inevitable, and to prevent it resign'd the Seals himself, that, as he told his Majesty, *he might prepare for Death.* Monsieur *Aligre*, one of his greatest Enemies, was made Keeper of the Seals, he was propos'd when *Caumartin* had them, but *Silleri* prevail'd for the latter, assisted by *Bassompierres*'s Interest. The Credit of the Chancellor and Secretary, both Friends to *Bassompierre*, being ruin'd, he expected no less for himself;

himself; but being a Man of the greatest Quality and Gallantry, he gave a turn to his former opposing *Aligre*, which reconcil'd them and made 'em good Friends; *Bassompierre* being one of those Temporizing Courtiers who cou'd be in with every one, and whom no Change cou'd hurt. He went very friendly to Dine with the New Keeper, accompany'd by the *Mareschal de Crequi* and the *Marquis de St. Luc*; *Aligre* gave them a very splendid Entertainment, *Do you know Gentlemen, says Bassompierre, why my Lord Keeper Treats us so well? If it had not been for me he had not now had the Seals.* *Aligre* surpriz'd at his saying so, assur'd the Company he did not know what good Offices the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* had done him, *Why I will tell you, says he, If I had not done what I cou'd for the late Monsieur de Caumartin, the King wou'd have given him the Seals Eighteen Months ago.* Not long after both *Sillieri* and *Puiseux* were order'd to retire from Court, so that in about a Year there were Three Changes of the Ministry; the first set was compos'd of the Prince of *Conde*, the Cardinal de *Retz* and the Count de *Schomberg*; the second of the Chancellor de *Sillieri* and of the Secretary *Puiseux*; the third of *Vieuville*, Superintendent of the Finances, and *Aligre* made Chancellor on the Death of *Sillieri*. *Mary de Medicis* apply'd her self to *Vieuville* on the Disgrace of *Sillieri* to procure the Admission of the Cardinal de *Richlieu* into the Council. But this new Favourite was as much afraid of him as his Predecessors had been, and endeavour'd to perswade the King to send him to *Rome*. His Majesty wou'd very gladly have done it, but he cou'd not tell how to come off with his Mother. *The Matter may be easily made up with her, says the Superintendent, 'tis but recalling Barbin from his Exile, he will not be so Troublesome as Richlieu.* The King approv'd of his Expedient, and *Lewis* went to *Compeigne*, under colour of Hunting, whereas his real Design was to send thence an Order to *Richlieu* to go immediately to *Rome*. The thing was not so secretly manag'd but it came to *Deageant's* knowledge, who

who dreading the return of *Barbin*, inform'd the Famous Father *Joseph* of it, and he told the Queen Mother, who allarm'd at this Contrivance of *Vieuville's*, follow'd her Son to *Compeigne* the very Day he left *Paris*, accompany'd by the Cardinal de *Richlieu*. The Queen apply'd to *Vieuville* with such earnestness to Sollicite the King for his Admission to the Council Board, that he had not Resolution enough to Excuse himself, *Madam*, said he, you require a thing of me that will be my Ruin; and I don't know but your Majesty may one Day repent of your advancing a Man whom yet you do not know very well; since you demand this Token of my Submission to your Pleasure, I had rather hazard my Fortune than lose the Honour of your good Graces. Accordingly *Vieuville* represented to his Majesty, that it were better to admit *Richlieu* to Council than so highly to disgust the Queen his Mother. He added, Your Majesty may do it with such Restrictions as may prevent the Inconveniences that a Man of so much Intrigue and Ambition might otherwise cause. In pursuance of this Advice, the King consented that he should have a Place in Council, where he should only offer his Opinion on Affairs proper to be consider'd, that he should treat of nothing in his House with Foreign Ambassadors, and give no Publick Audience as the preceeding Ministers had done. Thus on the 24th of April 1624. was Cardinal *Richlieu* declar'd of his Majesty's Council. And from this Fatal Journey of the Queen Mother to *Compeigne*, may the French date the loss of their Liberties for ever. The Ministers apprehensive of the Queen Mother's Credit at Court by means of her Creature, invited the Prince of *Conde* from his Retirement at *Bourges* in *Berry*, of which he was Governor; but the Prince offended at the Advancement of a Man who had been so instrumental in sending him to the *Bastille*, wou'd not return to Court. 'Twas at *Compeigne* that the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, the King's Youngest Sister, was first talk'd of, and the Ambassadors of *England*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle*, were the first to

whom Cardinal Richlieu gave Audience to treat of this Marriage, contrary to the Restrictions stipulated before his Entrance into the Council. It is said this Artful Prelate was himself the occasion of these Restrictions, to make his way the easier under the Disguise of Indifference. He pretended that he desir'd nothing so much as Retirement, that his ill State of Health cou'd not suffer him to apply himself much to Business, that very far from desiring to give Audience at Home, he cou'd not bear a Croud about him, it wou'd kill him; he therefore wou'd only promise to come to Council when his Health wou'd permit. This was all he cou'd do to shew his perfect Submission to the King's Order. Every one laugh'd at the Bishop's affected Modesty, he did not care, they laugh'd and he got his Ends by it. After which he did not take so much pains to Dissemble his Pride; for before he took his Seat at the Board, he wou'd have his Precedence settled above the Constable *Lefdisguieres*, which was a point that admitted not of much Debate, when Princes of the Blood had themselves given Place to Priests array'd in the *Roman Purple*.

The next thing *Vieuville* did which prepar'd the way for his Disgrace, was the making an Enemy of *Gaston, Duke d' Anjou*, by causing his Governor, Col. *Ornano*, to be sent to the *Bastille*, for putting the Duke upon demanding to be admitted to Council; *Vieuville* was Jealous of *Ornano's* Merit, and that if the Duke had once a Place there, his Governor wou'd soon have another. He insinuated to the King that the Colonel's putting that Thought into his Brothers Head, was in order to make himself Master of Affairs. The King order'd him to retire to his Government of *Pont Sr. Esprit*. *Ornano* desir'd to have Audience first of his Majesty to vindicate his Conduct. This the King took as Disobedience, and commanded him to be sent to the *Bastille*. The Duke d' *Anjou* was transported against *Vieuville* as the occasion of it, and refus'd to accept of a Purse of a Thousand Pistols, which the Superintendent

intendant had sent him for his Pocket to appease him. From that time his Ear was open to all *Vieuville's* Enemies, the number of which was encreas'd by the ill usage of *Ornano*, who had taken care to give *Gaston* a good and Virtuous Education, from which he presently deviated, and fell into all manner of Debauchery; making use of the Duke d'*Elbeuf* in his Pleasures, and that Duke was so base as to serve him in Offices which a Footman wou'd not have undertaken without Blushing; but by these Offices it is that the Favour of other Princes than those of *France* have been acquir'd, as may be seen by the History of the last Century.

The Affairs of the match between the Prince of *Wales* and the Princess *Henrietta Maria* being to be negotiated, the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, the Chancellor *Aligre*, the Marquis *de Vieuville*, Superintendant of the Finances, and *Lomenie de la Ville aux Clerc's* Secretary of State, were appointed Commissioners to treat of it with the Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle*. Now it was that this humble Prelate who was for retiring from the World, and was compell'd, as it were, to enter into the Council, was so far from refusing to give Audience to Ambassadors, that he made great Difficulties about the Ceremonial, but the Lords *Holland* and *Carlisle* wou'd not acknowledge his Preheminence as a Cardinal, and the good Prelate gave them Audience a Bed. The Treaty stuck at nothing but the Business of Religion, and the Two Kings of *England* and *France* shew'd themselves ready enough to hearken to any Measures to accommodate that Matter. The King of *England's* Ministers declar'd their Master wou'd comply, as far as he cou'd, in favour of the Catholics, without giving Umbrage to his Parliament; and the *French* King's Ministers assur'd those of *England* that their Master wou'd do the same on his side as far as Decency and his Honour wou'd permit. The setting this Treaty a Foot gave the Papists in *England* hopes that the *French* King wou'd be a better Protector to them than the King of *Spain* had been. Upon which they got a *Scotch* Monk to

write to the Bishop of *Ambrun*, whom he was acquainted with, representing to him that the *English* Catholics having met with great Indulgence during the Negotiation of the *Spanish* Match were prosecuted worse than ever since that with a Daughter of *France* was propos'd; the Archbishop interceded for them with *Lewis*, and he gave him a Commission to go to *England*, and assure the Catholics that they shou'd have the same Protection from *France* which they expected from *Spain*. The Archbishop pass'd over in Disguise, and went for a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who came out of Curiosity to see the Country. The Duke of *Buckingham* had Intimation of his being here, and soon after they had a Conference; the Duke inquir'd on what Errand he came, and the Archbishop was forc'd to confess it. *Buckingham* had pretended a great Zeal for the Protestant Religion to gain the favour of the Puritans on the breaking off the *Spanish* Match, but now he has other Sentiments, he is ready to do anything in behalf of the *Papists*, and the Countess of *Buckingham* his Mother, and the Earl of *Rutland* his Father-in-Law, assur'd the Bishop that he was well affected to them. They gave him Instruction how he shou'd manage the Matter; King *James* desir'd to see the *French* Bishop, and gave him a Private Audience at *Royston*, *Ambrun* told the King that the Pope wou'd not easily be prevail'd with to grant his Dispensation for the Marraige, unless the *Papists* were more indulg'd. Immediately the Prison Doors were open'd and condemn'd Priests repriev'd, and the King permitted the Arch-Bishop to Confirm the Catholics in *London*. This was not done so privately but it was known and complain'd off; however King *James* had not the Protestant Religion so much at Heart, nor was so afflicted at the Growth of *Popery* as he had lately express'd himself on the Rupture of the Treaty with *Spain*. *Il avoit oublie deja*, says my Author, *des Protestations & les Sermons dont ses harangues ala derniere seance du Parlement furent remplies*. He had already forgot the Protestations and Oaths of which his

his Speeches in the last Sessions of Parliament were full. Nay, so mightily pleas'd was his Majesty with the French Archbishop, that in great Confidence he said to him one Day taking him by the Hand, *You are a Man sent by God to the End that I may open my whole Heart to you*; he then protested he had always a good Opinion of the Catholick Religion which had occasion'd him many Troubles. He discours'd of a meeting of able Men of both Religions at *Dover* or *Boulogne*; the King saying, *I am very well inclin'd to the present Pope, the Verses he made on the Death of the Queen my Mother, shows he is a Man of Wit and Courage.* What follows I shall translate literally out of my French Author. "The detail of this Conference is not enough known, nor the extent of King James's Design; we find only that what he said to the Archbishop of *Vassor* His *Embrun* was sufficient to make the *Liv. XX.* King of France believe that he seriously intended to turn Catholick, and restore Popery in his Dominions. The most favourable thing that can be said of this Prince is, that he had at least an Inclination to establish a general Toleration: A Project of which Lewis was well pleas'd with, *All our hopes in England are lost*, said he to the Archbishop of *Ambrun* when the next Year he heard of the King of England's Death." This Story is told at large in *Deageant's* *Memoris* in a Treatise by it self, call'd, *Relation de L' Archeveque d' Embrun*; and one may see by it what an excellent Divine that Monarch was, how free from Error or Dissimulation. While this Secret Negotiation was carry'd on in England, *Vieuville* Superintendant of the Finances, began to feel the Effects of his putting too much Power into the Hands of *Mary de Medicis* and her Creature *Richlieu*. He has the Character of a good Manager of the Treasury, but it seems to be a good or an ill Minister was the same with Lewis; he did not consider their Merit when he took them or turn'd them off; his Passion or his Weakness was his

his Guide ; and his Ears being always open to Flatterers, the good Management of *Vieuvville* was represented to him as an Envy of the Favours he granted to any one else. This Minister had not only a Party within the Kingdom, his Enemies, but without also ; he was hated by the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* for advising the King to keep his Treaties with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the *Dutch* to maintain the Ballance against the House of *Austria*. The Queen Mother, supported by the Enviars of *Vieuvville*'s Favour, having prepossess'd the King against him ; his Majesty resolv'd to dismiss the best Servant he ever had. The *Mareschal de Bassompierre* knowing the King's Resolution, as Gallant a Man as he was, cou'd not help insulting a Minister that was not long to remain at Court ; *Vieuvville* seeing his Disgrace was determin'd, offer'd to resign his Office ; but the King still gave him good Words, which not satisfy'd the mortify'd Superintendant, who seeing his Enemies Triumph'd over him, again desir'd his Majesty to accept of his Resignation. The King bad him be content and not trouble himself, for when he wou'd no longer make use of his Service he wou'd tell him so himself, and he shou'd have permission to take his Leave of him. That Evening the Duke d' *Anjou* and others set the Mob upon insulting him, and *Vieuvville* fearing he should be assassinated, sent to beg the Protection of Cardinal *de Richlieu* his most dangerous Enemy. The Cardinal ran to him, not so much to Protect him, as to take Pleasure in his Despair. The next Morning he was sent for to Council, and the King told him, That having promis'd, to tell him himself when he intended to make no more use of his Service, he then acquitted himself of his Promise for it was resolv'd upon, and he might take his Leave of him. *Vieuvville* withdrew in great Confusion and Consternation ; and the Marquis de *Thermes* Arresting him as he came out of the Council, he was carry'd to the Castle of *Amboise*, where he remain'd a long while a Prisoner without knowing for what he was confin'd.

confm'd. Upon this Disgrace of the Favourite and Minister *Vieuville*, the Finances were entrusted to Commissioners, the first of whom was *Marillac*, a Creature of the Queen Mother's; the Count *de Schembergh* was recall'd and restor'd to his Seat at the Council Board, *Ornano* was permitted to return to the Duke *d' Anjou*, and the Face of Affairs at Court was entirely chang'd, which is the Fourth Revolution of the Ministry in the space of a few Months; and shews what the *French* Nation may expect from a Reign that is but one continu'd Minority.

The next Ministry is indeed a long one; it met with some Interruption, but was never entirely broken: Under it did the *French* learn a Passive Submission to the Will, not only of the King but of the Favourite and Minister; new Politicks were establish'd in *France*, and instead of a Ballance the *French* Court aspir'd to Universal Empire. What method they took to destroy the Liberties of that once Free and happy People, and to enslave *Europe*, will be seen in the History of the Two Cardinal's Ministry and the Monarch that Reign'd after them.

Tho' the sequel of this History and Reign will be in a great measure the Reign and History of Cardinal *Richlieu*, rather than that of *Lewis* the XIIIth, yet I shall not be too particular in what relates to that Minister farther than it has relation to his Ministry; as to his Birth, Education and Character I refer to the Biographers, Panegyrics and Satyrists; his Rise was Prodigious, and never was Prince more Master of a People than *Richlieu*, was of the *French*. His Paternal Estate of *Richlieu* he paid Homage for to a Neighbouring Gentleman till he bought off that Vassalage, and had it erected into a Dutchy and Peerage, to which he annex'd 100000 Livres yearly Rent; his Riches were Immense, his Buildings and Furniture, his Guards, his Magnificence in all things was Princely; that which contributed to his Advancement as much as any thing, was the King's having conceiv'd a Hatred
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of his Wife and Brother, jealous that the latter thought of supplanting him both in Bed and Throne; and this Weak Prince flatter'd himself, that *Richlieu* being the Queen Mother's Creature wou'd be the best support of his Authority against the Designs of his own Family; he indeed did support it, but 'twas for himself and not for his Master.

In the beginning of his Ministry he acted so much in favour of the *German* Protestants, that he was call'd the Cardinal *de la Rochelle*, which City he afterwards enslav'd, and the Pope's Nuntio told him plainly he *talk'd like a meer Lutheran*; *Richlieu* did not care for that, his aim was to humble the House of *Austria*. If the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had been forc'd to yield to the Emperor's Tyranny, it might not have been in the Power of *France* to hinder the Empire of that House, not only over *Germany* and *Spain* but over all *Europe*. The Bigots hated him at first so much, that he was afraid of his Life, and desir'd a Guard, which he never parted with but encreas'd it by degrees in Strength and Splendor till his Troop out shin'd the King's, and the command of it was as ready a way to a *Marschals Batoon*. He went so far as to banish the King's Confessor for admonishing his Penitent not to enter into any League with Hereticks; and soon after concluded a Treaty with the States General of the United Provinces which remain'd in force almost Fifty Years. He had his Emisseries all over *Europe*, under the management of his Confident and Creature the Capuchine Father *Joseph*, who had above 100 Missionary Monks travelling over *Europe* to busy themselves about quite other Things than matters of Religion. We left Monsieur *de Vieuville* imprison'd in the Castle of *Ambaise*, where he was treated with great Rigor; the King Eight Days before he turn'd him out of his Place with so much Ignominy, declar'd to the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris* and other Soveriegn Courts, *That Monsieur de Vieuville had Enemies who endeavour'd to destroy him, but it wou'd be a Prejudice to his Reputation and to his Service if he parted with him.* May not Favourites and

and Ministers see by this example, what it is to have Dependance on the present Disposition of such Princes as *Lewis* the XIIIth. No sooner was this Minister remov'd, but, says my Author, he was accus'd *Du peculat le plus honteux*, the most shameful Peculation. I must confess I was surpriz'd to find this Word made use of on the Disgrace of so Able and so Faithful a Minister, a Person who had manag'd the Finances of *France* with so much Skill and Success. *Peculat*, is a Word we hardly ever heard of in *England* till about Three Years ago, and I think the occasion was much the same, Plunderings and Peculations were in every one's Mouth, and to what did they all come too? Just so was it with *Monsieur de Vieuville*, as my Author represents it, They gave out, says he, That never Superintendant had heap'd up such Prodigious Riches, they affirm'd and with a Boldness that impos'd upon the least Credulous, he had Six Hundred Thousand Crowns in his House, his Chests, nay the very Trunks in which were his Childrens Linnen were ransack'd, but little Money found. Another Circumstance of *Monsieur de Vieuville's* History, lets us see the Practice of Tyrannical Ministers with respect to their Predecessors; the Historian proceeds, *Cardinal de Richlieu* set Libellers to Work to blacken *de Vieuville's* Reputation, and render him Odious to the King, a Practice of which one may find more instances than one in History.

The Reign of *Lewis* the XIIIth was not only disturb'd with Commotions rais'd by the Princes, the Princesses had also a share in them, and soon after *Richlieu's* Advancement to the Ministry, the Court Ladies by their Intrigues, caus'd a Difference between the King and his Brother which was never perfectly reconcil'd. *Gaston* was in Love with the Princess of *Montpensier*, the Richest Heiress in *France*; and upon the Prospect of his Marriage, two Parties were immediately form'd at the *Louvre*; the Princess of *Conti*, the Dutchess of *Guise* and the Ladies of that Family were for the Match; the Dutchess of *Chevreuse* and the Marchioness *de la Vallette*, whose Husband the Duke d' *Epernon's* Son

Son was nearly related to the Princess *de Montpensier*, were of the Party that joyn'd together to hinder the Marriage. These two Ladies were pick'd against the Princess of *Conti* who had the management of the Affair, and having the confidence of the Queen Consort, they insinuated to her, that her Credit wou'd sink mightily if the Duke d' *Anjou* shou'd Marry and have Children; they put her in mind of the King's weakly Constitution, and shew'd her how much it was for her Interest that the Presumptive Heir of the Crown shou'd not be so soon marry'd. The Queen being prevail'd upon by their Reasons, represented to the King that the Authority of the Duke d' *Orleans* wou'd encrease if he shou'd Marry and have Heirs. The King, naturally jealous, took the Impressions his Consort gave him, and order'd Colonel *Ornano* to break off the Duke d' *Anjou's* Intrigues, and hinder his engaging himself with the Princess of *Montpensier*. By this we see that not only this Favourite or that Minister, but every one who approach'd *Lewis* the XIIIth had an Ascendant over him. The King was of himself well inclin'd to Justice and Clemency, but of so weak a mind that he cou'd not resist any Importunity.

Happy had it been for the Liberties of *France* if his Ministers and Favourites had not sacrific'd them to the *Authority Royal*, which it was not likely they shou'd not do when that *Authority Royal* was in reality their own, while *Lewis* had the Form and Name of it. Tho *Richlieu* to destroy the Ballance of Power and turn it wholly on the side of *France*, had promoted Alliances with the *German* Princes of the *Reform'd Religion*, and with the *States General* of the *United Provinces* against the House of *Austria*, yet the Protestants of *France* far'd not the better for it. The Edicts that had been granted them, the Stipulations that had been made with them, their Rights and Privileges were every where invaded; there was not one Article of the Peace of *Mompellier* but what was broken. The City of *Rochelle*, in whose Liberty that of *France* did in a great measure subsist, especially

ally that of the Protestants was in a manner block'd up by Land; and the Duke *de Nevers* under pretence of Cruising against the *Turkish* Rovers, was fitting a Squadron of Men of War at *Blavet* in *Bretagne* to do the same by Sea. Open Preparations were made to Besiege the City in form, and the loss of it appear'd inevitable, unless its Port cou'd be kept free to receive the Foreign Succours that might be sent them.

Of all the Protestant Nobility the Dukes *de Rohan* and *de Soubize* were the most Zealous and Active in the Defence of the *Reform'd Churches* of France; the Spirit which animated the first *Hugonots* seem'd to be expir'd in all the rest and to live only in them. The *Spaniards* who had instigated the Court of France to all the Persecutions that had been rais'd against the *Reform'd*, finding their Councils tended to embarras the House of *Austria*, now offer'd Assistance to the Duke *de Rohan* which he did not absolutely refuse, being deserted by the other Protestant Lords, and having no other way to oblige the Ministry to observe the Treaties and Agreements that had been made in favour of their Religion. The *Rochellers*, alarm'd at the Preparations of the Court, implor'd the aid of that Duke and his Brother; and it was resolv'd on by them that the Duke *de Soubize* shou'd fit out some Ships, pretending it was for a long Voyage and to surprize those the Duke *de Nevers* was fitting out at *Blavet*. The Money for this Expedition was borrow'd by the Two Dukes on their own Estates; and 'twas agreed that if the Duke *de Soubize* succeeded, the Duke *de Rohan* shou'd take Arms in the Provinces where he had most Reputation, if not, he shou'd disown his Brother's Actions. When all Things were ready to put this brave Enterprize in Execution, *Navailles*, one of the Duke *de Soubize's* Officers, betray'd the Secret; however, *Soubize* enter'd the Port of *Blavet* and made himself Master of all the King's Ships; he attack'd the Port, but the Garrison had been reinforced on *Navailles's* discovery, and the Duke *de Vendome* had time to march thither with the Forces
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of *Bretagne*, of which he was Governor; being arriv'd, he laid an Iron Chain and a Cable of extraordinary thickness across the Harbour, by which means *Soubize* was block'd up within it, and expos'd for Three Weeks together to the Shot of the Fort and the Army from the Shoar. In this desperate Condition there was hardly a Man of Note of his Religion that did not disown him, the Duke de *la Trimouille*, the Marquisses de *la Force* and de *Charillon*, the Deputies of the General Assembly and of the Church of *Paris* did it in Writing, the Cities of *Nismes*, *Uzes*, *Montauban*, the Communities of the *Cevennes*, nay, the very City of *Rochelle* did the same.

The Duke de *Rohan* had form'd great Designs to second this of his Brother, which being so unfortunate *Rohan's* came to nothing, and de *Soubize* was left singly to withstand the Power of *France*. A Declaration was publish'd against them in a Tone that had not been yet us'd by the Court; the Treaties that had been concluded with the *Reform'd* were said to be acts of Favour, *Wherein the sentiments of a just Indignation had been over rul'd by the natural Bignity of a King the Father of his People*. It was affirm'd that not only all Treaties, but even that of *Mompellier* had been exactly observ'd, tho' all *France* had been Witness of the Infractions of it that were made daily. The Building the Citadel of *Montauban*, and Fort *Lewis* near *Rochelle* had made so much noise, that it is incredible People cou'd be so abandon'd to common Modesty, as to boast of their keeping of Treaties in the midst of the Clamour for their breaking 'em. There is no degree of Impudence like this; but an Instance or two of a more Modern date which must be reserv'd for some other Occasion. The Duke de *Soubize* and his Adherents, were declar'd Guilty of High Treason, and all Corporations and Communities that favour'd him were depriv'd of their Privileges, unless they in a Month's Time return'd to their Duty. In the mean Time the Duke, taking hold of the Opportunity of a High Wind that blew directly out of the Port, broke the Chain and the Cable, notwithstanding the

the Terrible Fire from the Fort and Army, and brought away all the Vessels he had taken, except two that stuck in the Haven's Mouth. This was certainly one of the most Glorious Actions that was perform'd in the Civil Wars of *France*, and had the Protestant Nobility declar'd themselves vigorously in favour of the Two Dukes, their Religion had not been so soon sacrific'd to Popish Vengeance.

The Duke *de Soubize* being thus Master of the Sea, he easily reduc'd the Islands of *Rhé* and *Oleron*: The City of *Rochelle* also took Courage, and declar'd for him. His Enterprize, which was before Condemn'd by both Friends and Enemies, as an Effect of Despair, was now extoll'd by both, as one of the most Heroick that ever was perform'd. The Lords of the *Reform'd Religion*, were asham'd of their Precipitation in disowning him, yet Interest wou'd not let them espouse his Quarrel, which was that of Religion, tho' the Court endeavour'd to have it taken to be that of the House of *Rohan* only. The Duke *de Soubize's* Success, gave Spirit to the Provinces and his Brother's Efforts to engage them to War, as they were Indefatigable, so were they also Successful. The Court had lately enter'd into Treaties with *England* and the *Low Countries*, and they were afraid of engaging too far in this Rupture, least those Nations, being *Protestants*, shou'd be provok'd to assist their Brethren. This made them lay all the Fault on the Two Brothers, and by that means the other *Protestant Lords*, and a good part of the Commonalty seeing they were not involv'd in the Dispute, resolv'd to keep clear, as if they wou'd not have been Sufferers alike with those that had own'd this Cause, when it was ruin'd, and their Religion had no more a Protector. Whither the Duke *de Rohan* was not flatter'd with the Ambition of being the Head of a Party; whether he did not aim at valuing himself to the Court, by the Strength of his Interest; whether his Zeal was Pure, and unmixt with any Sublunary Views, I leave to others to determine. Great Men are so seldom Govern'd by the Hopes of distant and eternal Rewards, that one

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must abound in Charity not to have some Diffidence; and as Vigorous as the Duke de Rohan was, in asserting the Cause of the Reform'd Churches, as Generous as is his Character, it is certain he Acted a Part in this Scene, which had something above the Life in it. The Author of the History of the Edict of Nantz, has these Reflections upon it, which I repeat, to shew how much the Protestants think him a Player in this Part of his History. And because, says he, he was not Ignorant how far some certain extraordinary Demonstrations of Zeal and Piety prevail among the People, he affected all the outward Shews of an extream Devotion. He paid the Ministers extraordinary Honours. When he enter'd into any City, he caus'd a Bible to be carry'd before him, as the Catholicks in their Religion advance the Cross in their Fore-Fronts. He alighted from his Horse at the Church Door of every City, and never Spoke of Business to any Body, before he had said his Prayers upon both Knees. And this made him so much the more to be taken Notice of, because the Churches of the Reform'd have neither Ornaments nor Reliques, nor any thing of Pomp and Magnificence to invite a Man. The Dutches his Wife, was a Notable Second to him in all his Enterprises; She labour'd with great Sedulity to perswade the People to take Arms in all Places where she came; and because she Travell'd more by Night than by Day, the Equipage wherein she appear'd, struck a kind of Awe into the Country People: Besides, that being in Mourning, the People that attended her were all in Black, her Coach also cover'd with Mourning, was drawn by Eight Black Horses, which, together with the Flambeauxs that were carry'd to Light her along, made a Solemn Procession, which touch'd the Peasants with Compassion, and dispos'd them to joyn with her Husband. The Duke de Soubize publish'd a Manifesto, enumerating the Breaches made upon the Edicts in favour of the Reform'd, the Cruelties exercis'd against 'em, and the Services they had render'd the Crown, since the Accession of Henry the IVth. The Court were not a little alarm'd, when they heard of his having

broken

broken the Chain and Cable, and carry'd off the King's Ships. Peace was presently talk'd of, and the Duke *de Soubize*, and the City of *Rochelle*, sent their Deputies to the King, as did also the Duke *de Rohan*, and the Places that had adher'd to him. The Court hearken'd to a Treaty only to gain Time to compleat the Destruction of the Protestants; for while they were Treating, the *Mareschal de Themines* ravag'd the Province of *Foix*, sparing neither Age nor Sex, till he was driven out of it by the enrag'd Protestants; the *Papists* themselves being Scandaliz'd at his Cruelties. The Duke *de Soubize* having been Reinforc'd with some *Dutch* Ships, defeated a Squadron that was sent against him; and this second Success so Spirited the Protestants, that with Unanimity and Constancy they might have secur'd their Liberties. The Ministry now were in good earnest for an Accommodation, and offer'd some Conditions which were more favourable than was expected; but the *Reform'd* grew the higher in their Demands, as the Face of their Affairs mended, not considering that the Change which flatter'd them, was no Solid one, and that divided, as they were, they cou'd not hope to improve the Advantages they had obtain'd by War. It had been well, if they had been as Resolute in Adversity, as they were Obstinate in Prosperity. They were too soon flush'd with good Success, too soon dishearten'd with bad. While the Treaty hung, the Court were very Industrious to raise Jealousies of the Dukes *de Rohan* and *de Soubize*, as if they were for accommodating Matters any how, provided they cou'd gain by it. This was so far from being true, that the Duke *de Rohan* press'd the *Reform'd* to take hold of this Opportunity, to procure good Terms, fearing they shou'd never have such another, which they were soon convinc'd of: For the King's Fleet being strengthen'd with some *English* and *Dutch* Men of War, dispers'd *Soubize's* Fleet, the Vice-Admiral of which had been corrupted by the Court, and drove his Men out of the Isles of *Rhe* and *Oleron*. His Forces at Land were also cut in Pieces, not without Suspicion of Treachery in the

Mayor of *Rochelle*, who wou'd not let 800. Gentlemen and other Soldiers, go out to their Assistance. Thus were *Protestants* destroy'd by *Protestants*; and thus did the *English* and *Dutch* help the Court of *France* to suppress their Brethren of the *Reform'd Religion*; in whose Defence their own Interest engag'd them at all Ventures to Arm.

These Transactions happen'd in the Year 1625, the second of Cardinal *Richlieu's* Ministry, in which it was threaten'd with a *Revolution*; and *Baradas*, a young Gentleman, and a New Favourite, was thought so far to have gain'd the King's good Graces, that if he had had a Genius suitable to his Fortune, he might have obtain'd the Ministry. The Duke of *Buckingham* arriving at *Paris*, to sollicite the Departure of *Henrietta Maria*, Queen of *England*, and appearing with a Splendor that dazled the *French* Court, the latter not to be outdone in Magnificence, were for sending *Baradas* to *London*, to make as shining a Figure as *Buckingham* did at *Paris*. But *Baradas* excus'd himself, and the King who lov'd him, accepted of his Excuses, to the great Mortification of *Richlieu*, who thought either to ruin him in his Absence on that Embassy, or by his refusal of it. *Mary de Medicis*, at the Instigation of the Cardinal, intimated to her to her Son that she conceiv'd some Jealousy of *Baradas's* Ambition. His Majesty assur'd her there was no Occasion for it, he never troubling himself with State Affairs; and in appearance, this New Favourite affected only to concern himself in the Pleasures and Diversions of the Court. He carry'd himself very modestly, and receiv'd few Visits. However, the Courtiers, knowing the King's Disposition, apply'd themselves to him, as the quickest way to carry their Point on all Occasions; and the Queen Mother and the Cardinal were very uneasie under the Apprehension of the Consequences of this unexpected Favour, from a Prince whom they thought to have entirely at their Disposal.

Nani informs us, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who, while he was in *Spain*, had been in Love with the Countess d' *Olivarez*, Wife to the Favourite of *Philip*

Philip the IVth, with whom, on that Account, he had a perpetual Quarrel, while he was in France, was touch'd with the same Passion for a much more exalted Object, the Queen Anne of Austria, which occasion'd his Quarreling with Richlieu, who was mortally Jealous of him, and he had been more than ever with Olivarez. A French Historian says, with reference to this Ambitious Amour of Buckingham, *Il est vrai que certaines gens disent dans le monde, qu'elle paroissoit Sensible au Merite du Buckingham. It is true then, some did not stick to say, that the Queen was Sensible of Buckingham's Merit.* Certain it is, Richlieu was Jealous of the Duke's Intrigues with the Court Ladies, and it is thought he instill'd a Jealousy of him into the King. A Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and some other of the Queen's Domesticks, were banish'd the Court as soon as Buckingham was gone; and whatever Foundation there is for this Incident in Truth, it has found a Place in several Histories, which do not want Authority.

This close Correspondence between the Courts of England and France, procur'd the sending a Squadron of English Men of War to the Assistance of the French, against the Duke de Soubize and the Rochellers, but the English Nation is clear'd of the Guilt of that base Action, by the French themselves, one of their Authors doing us this Justice. *If there were English Ships in the Kings Fleet, it must be own'd they were got by the Artifices of Buckingham, without the Knowledge of the greatest Part of his Britannick Majesty's Council, against the Intentions of the Parliament, and the Efforts of good English Men.* 'Tis to this Buckingham then, that the Protestant Religion owes the Loss of such a Barrier, as were the Protestants of France against the Attempts of that King. King James the First, who was lately Dead, did offer to lend the French King some Ships to be employ'd against Genoa, but the Duke de Rohan informing him that the War of Genoa was only a Pretence, and that those Ships would be employ'd against Rochelle, the English Ships had Orders not

to act against the *Rochellers*, and to have more *English* Hands than *French* Aboard, that they might be enabled to Obey those Orders. But the same Year that King *Charles* the First came to the Throne, was the *Vanguard*, one of the best Ships of the *English* Fleet, lent to the *French* King, together with several large Merchant Ships, but Captain *Pennington*, who Commanded them, wou'd not serve against the *Rochellers*; and understanding at *Diepe*, that he was to go upon that Service, he return'd to *Dover*, where Orders were again sent him to joyn the *French* Fleet with his Squadron. Accordingly he deliver'd them up to the *French* Admiral at *Diepe*: The Capt. of the *Great Neptune* being the only Cammander of it, who refus'd to deliver his Ship, and *Pennington* and the other Officers return'd in his to *England*, where they complain'd of the Orders they had receiv'd to the Parliament, which *Buckingham* got to be Dissolv'd, to prevent a strict Inquiry into that Matter. The *Rochellers* being Block'd up by Sea and Land, and the Duke de *Rohan* advising them to Peace, on the Assurance of the Guaranty of the King of *Great Britain*, they were desirous of a Treaty. *Richieu*, whose Head was full of the Affair of the *Valteline*, where the *Spaniards* were Masters, and by that means wou'd soon do what they pleas'd in *Switzerland*, was as inclinable to Treat as the *Reform'd* were to have him, till the Defeat of *Soubize* by *Tirras*, and then the Court wou'd not consent to it, unless the *Rochellers* were left out of the General Amnesty, which the Protestants wou'd not hear of. In the mean time, the *Rochellers* frighten'd at the Revolution which had happen'd in their Affairs, sent Deputies to the King, who threw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, and implor'd his Pardon in the most Submissive Terms. The General Deputies interceded for them, in the Name of all the Churches, which however was to no Purpose. The Conditions they were to be pardon'd upon, were such as reduc'd them to a State of Slavery, which the *Rochellers* resolv'd rather to Dye, than submit to. At last the *English* Ambassadors promising that Fort

Lewis

Lewis shou'd be Demolish'd, and that their Master would be Guaranty for the Performance of the Terms given them by the *French King*, these Ambassadors gave them an Instrument, dated the 11th of *February*, 1625-6, declaring that *Fort Lewis* was one of the Conditions on which *Rochelle* submitted, and that they wou'd not have done it, but in a Belief that the King of *England* was Guaranty of the Peace. Tho' there was something faulty in the Draft of this Instrument, and that his *Britannick Majesty's* Guaranty was not express'd with sufficient Force and Clearness, yet it was thought to be binding in Honour, as we may read by what follows, taken out of a *French Author*. "Tho' this Paper did not clearly express the *Guaranty*, of which the King of *England* boasted, nevertheless it cannot be deny'd, but that it must have oblig'd that Prince either to have disown'd his Ambassadors, or else to take care that what was granted the *Reform'd*, shou'd be faithfully perform'd, since he acknowledged that the sole Force of his Solicitations had vanquish'd their good Nature, to be satisfy'd with the King's Offers. An Honest Man needs no more to engage him to make another Man's Business his own, but that it was himself who caus'd the other to miscarry, either by his Authority or his Perswasion. And in this Sense it cannot be deny'd, but that the King of *England* was the Guaranty of the Peace, since it was upon his Word, and in hopes that he wou'd be answerable for it, that the *Reform'd* accepted of it." Not only the *English Ambassadors*, but those of the *United Provinces*, of *Venice* and *Savoy*, solicited for the *Reform'd*; the latter out of Political Views only, that the *French Court* being at Leisure at Home, might bend all their Force against the House of *Austria*. The Peace therefore was concluded, both Sides intending to break it on the first Occasion; the Protestants if *Fort Lewis* was not demolish'd; the Court as soon as they had an Opportunity, with respect to their Foreign Affairs, which they wou'd first set upon a good Foot.

On March 1626, an Edict was put forth in Consequence of the Peace, and verifi'd in Parliament, it confirm'd the former Edicts, as far as they were not contrary to the last Treaty. The *Dukes de Rohan* and *Soubize* submitted, as did all the Cities, their Adherents. The former in his Memoirs, says of this Peace, *The Court of France in deceiving England, and the Confederate Princes, deceiv'd also themselves; every thing they propos'd by it, happen'd to the Advantage of Spain, to the Oppression of the Allies of the Crown, and to the Prejudice of France.* How Humane and Upright the *Papists* are, when they have the Power in their Hands, may be seen by the Story of *Monsieur Campredon*, a Gentleman that was sent to *Spain* by the *Duke de Rohan*, during the War, and return'd on the Conclusion of the Peace, by which all that had been done, either within or without the Kingdom, was pardon'd. *Campredon* was taken in his Return by the *Marquis de Ragni*, and his Process was form'd by the Parliament of *Tholouse*. Just as they were about to Condemn him. *Masuyer*, the First President, receiv'd the Edict of the Peace, which *Campredon* ought to have the Benefit of, but he conceal'd it a whole Day, and did not cause it to be verifi'd, till after the Gentleman was Executed. A Base and Bloody Act of Treachery, which a President of the same Parliament condemns. *I own that in good Faith, Campredon ought to have had the Benefit of the General Amnesty, but Masuyer was such an Enemy to the Hugonots, he never matter'd good Faith when he cou'd do them a Mischief.* No wonder such Usage forc'd them so often to take Arms. Slavery was not as yet a Natural Principle in that Country: The Parliaments, especially that of *Paris*, had frequently the Publick Good, and the Liberties of the People in their Mouths; a Language that has not been us'd in *France*, for above half a Century. The Advocate General, *Monsieur Servien*, dying about this time, there was a Circumstance attending his Death which made it Glorious. The Intendant of the Finances had brought certain Pecuniary Edicts to the Parlia-
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ment of *Paris*, to be verifi'd; that Assembly who had not then learn'd to submit blindly to whatever was requir'd of them, debated the Verification of *tem*. To obtain which, the King went in Person, accompany'd by the Duke d' *Anjou*, and several Dukes and Peers: *Servien*, who had been in his Post Fifty Years, and was just recover'd out of a Fit of Sickness, made a warm Remonstrance in favour of the People. At the close of this Speech, he rais'd his Voice with all the strength he had, and address'd himself thus to the Young King. *You may render your Name Celebrated in History, in overcoming your Enemies by the Force of your Arms, but you will acquire a much more Solid Glory in gaining the Hearts of your Subjects by Mildness and Clemency.* He was about to prove the Truth of a Maxim so little known to the last Kings of *France*, when his Speech fail'd him, and he fell into a Swoon. He was presently rub'd and shaken, but all to no Purpose: All he ever said afterwards, was, *Tu N'as rien*, and so he expir'd, having with his last Breath, born this Glorious Testimony to the Cause of Liberty. Has there been a Magistrate of *France* since that time, that durst Preach such a Lecture to the King? This shews us that *France* has been Free; that in the last Reign there were *French* Lawyers, who asserted that Freedom; and what Right has there started up in this to deprive her of it, and trample all her Rights and Privileges under Foot? How came the Authority Royal to usurp the Place of Law? Let it be said at least, in favour of the present King's impartial Justice, that if he has extirpated the *Protestant Religion*, he has also extirpated *Liberty*; and who then can doubt to which he has been most favourable, to those that he has suffer'd to leave their own Country, and live Free in others, or to those that remain there under so Despotick a Power. The Ministers of such Princes will always be very severe with *Libellers*. Now all Authors that speak Truth of such as are too great to hear it, are of course *Libellers*. A General Assembly of the *Catholick Clergy* being holden at *Paris*, the

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Cardinal complain'd of *Libels* against the Court, not by *Hugonots*, but by *Runk Papists*. For as to Rebellion and Sedition, we shall find the *French Papists* in this Minority, for so the Reign may be still properly call'd, and the next, were the *Rebellious* and *Seditious*. These *Libels* contain'd severe Reflections on the Ministry, in joyning with the Protestants in *Germany* and *Switzerland*. One of the Authors of 'em speaking of the King, says, *God suffer'd his Father Henry the IVth, to be Assassinated as soon as he prepar'd to put Two Heretical Princes in Possession of Cleves and Juliers. The House of Austria has no other Interest, than to maintain the Cause of God: To make a War upon Sovereigns; Defenders of the Catholick Religion, is openly to resist the Will of God himself.* The Magistrates Condemn'd these *Libels* to be Burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. One may see plainly their Authors were Orthodox in *France*, and those whose Zeal flew highest. These were the Men that cry'd out, *The Church is in Danger, because the Court assisted the Protestant Grisons and the Dutch.* Here's an Instance of their Loyalty, when the Government is against them. Does one not Tremble to read in this Memorial of the *French High Church*, *God suffer'd Henry the IVth to be Assassin'd.* From such Loyalty and such Divinity, *Good Lord, deliver all Kings and Princes, whether Papists or Protestants.* The Pope's *Nuntio Spada*, had the Impudence to oppose the Condemning these *Libels*, both by the *Sorbonne* and the General Assembly of the Clergy; and tho' he cou'd not hinder their Condemnation, he hinder'd its being done with Particulars, and in General Terms. The *Libel* that made most Noise, was one call'd an *Advertisment to the King*, which threaten'd him with a Colleague, if he did not reform his Government, with respect to his Alliances with Hereticks. This *Libel* the Assembly order'd to be censur'd, and the Bishop of *Chartres* was appointed to draw up the Censure in *French* and *Latin*. The Bishop, who had more Honour and Understanding than many of the rest of his Brethren, did it with great

great Force, affirming *Passive Obedience* in as great Extent as has been asserted by some *British Doctors*, said for that Principle above all others. The Bishop of *Chartres* prov'd, That Subjects ought not to Resist on any Account whatsoever; That they ought to suffer as the Apostles and Martyrs did; That there was no Person in the World who could dispense Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, on any Pretence, or on any Cause whatsoever; That Kings could not be depos'd, and that Alliances with Infidels and Hereticks are not absolutely Wicked, nor Condemn'd in Scripture, &c. The Assembly approv'd of this Doctrine and Writing, which *Spada*, the Pope's Nuntio, hearing, he set the Cardinals *de Sourdis*, *de la Rochefaucault*, and *de la Valette* to work, to gain the Members over by their Intrigues, and prevent the Publication of it. The Arch-Bishop of *Sens* cry'd out, it wou'd be a Shame to all Europe, if the Clergy of France shou'd Authorize a Doctrine Condemn'd by *du Perron*, in the last Assembly of the States General; his Reason, and the Intrigues of the Nuntio, prevail'd upon most of the Members; and the Approbation which had been enter'd in their Register, in favour of the Bishop of *Chartres*'s Censure, was raz'd out of it, under pretence that the Secretary had not taken it right, occasion'd by the Confusion of the Applauses given to it. However, the Parliament forbid the Bishops to Publish, and the Booksellers to Print any other Censure, than that of the Bishop of *Chartres*, Solemnly approv'd the 13th of *December*, in the Assembly of the Clergy. Notwithstanding which, another was drawn up, and approv'd of in general, which the Cardinal *de la Valette* Sign'd as President. The Parliament forbid the Bishops and Clergy to Assemble. They, on the contrary, Publish'd a Declaration that their *Arrets* were Null. The Parliament threaten'd to seize their Temporalities, unless they repair'd to their Diocesses by a Day appointed. Thus did the Lay Assembly contend with the Spiritual, in maintenance of the Independancy of the Crown of France, and the Prerogative of Kings, in which

which *Lewis* and his Ministry abandon'd them, by an Injunction to bring the Affair before the Council, where it dropt; and the Pope wrote an obliging Letter to his Faithful Bishops, for standing by the Papal Authority in its Usurpation, to Depose Kings, and Absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity. This Devotion of the *Gallican* Bishops to the See of *Rome*, has not been constant, and sometimes they are for its Absolute Supremacy, and sometimes against it, as a present Turn is to be serv'd, or the Court is in a good or bad Humour with it.

I shall not pretend to give the Reader a View of the Happy Consequences of the Marriage of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, *Lewis's* Sister, with King *Charles* the First: Our Histories speak enough of it, but wherein that Marriage occasions any Negotiations between *England* and *France*, I must touch upon them. Her Domesticks in *England*, introduc'd the Jesuits into her Houshold, and they forc'd her to commit a Thousand mean Things beneath her Grandeur, and unworthy of her Dignity. They perswaded her to adore as Martyrs, those of their Order, that had been Executed in the preceeding Reign, as Contrivers and Accomplices in the *Powder PLOT*; and the Occasion of a Jubilee presenting it self, they made Choice of the Place where the Common Malefactors are Executed, whether the Queen was to walk bare Foot to say her Prayers. The King and the whole Nation were exasperated at this Insolence; His Majesty commanded the Queens *French* Domesticks to be gone, upon which Cardinal *Richlieu* sent the Mareschal de *Bassompierre* to *England* to complain of it, as an Infraction of the Treaty, and to reconcile the Differences between the King and his Royal Consort, on that Occasion. The Mareschal was likely to succeed in his Negotiation, but the Cardinal who did what he cou'd to thwart *Buckingham*, caus'd *Bassompierre's* Treaty of Accommodation to be disown'd, and *Buckingham* oblig'd his King to revoke his Word. After which, a Dispute about Commerce arising, *Buckingham*, who burn'd with a desire of returning into *France*, and
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brave the Cardinal, resolv'd to go thither once more as Ambassador; but the Cardinal found out a way to let him understand he wou'd not be Welcome. At this the *English* Favourite was so enrag'd that he instigated his Master to a Rupture, under pretence of a Breach of the last Peace with the Protestants, of which the King of *England* was Guaranty. How little that Prince was really concern'd for the Maintenance of it, and the Preservation of the *Reform'd Religion* in *France*, one may see by his Manner of prosecuting that War and the whole course of his History. I do not know how it has happen'd, but since the glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, *England* has look'd upon the Protestants abroad with as much Indifference as if the *English* and they were not of one Religion, and indeed for this last Century, there has been a Faction in *England* that treats the Foreign Protestants as Hereticks as much as the *Papists* can. It had been well for those of *France* if King *Charles* the First had never meddl'd with them, unless he had been more Earnest both in Council and Action.

Something has been said already of the Jealousy between *Richlieu* and *Buckingham*, and the Probability of it will appear from the Character of the former; I have touch'd it a little in the foregoing Pages, to which for the better enlightning this History, I shall add here from an Author of the same Nation; "That he was Ambitious of outdoing all others in Trifles, he cou'd not endure that another shou'd excel him in the most pitiful Things, to make Sonnets or Speak better than he did, was no way to win his Favour, or to shew that he understood Humanity, Philosophy, the Mathematicks, Divinity, or Antiquity better than he. That he might enjoy the Reputation of being the most Experienced Man of his Time in all Things; he stretcht his Weakness to that degree, as to attribute to himself the Works of other Men, and under his own Name to own those Writings, wherein perhaps he was no more concern'd than to have been the first that conceiv'd the
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“rude and indigested Idea of the Subject. He had
 “the same sentiments as to Magnificence and court-
 “ing the Ladies; and for a Man to presume to
 “transcend him in either of these two things was
 “a certain way to lose his Favour. However
 “it were, he always us’d the Queen but very scur-
 “vily after he observ’d the little value she had
 “for him. A Man of this Character, could not
 but be Jealous of so Gallant and Magnificent a
 Man as was the Duke of *Buckingham*, who, im-
 patient of any opposition Abroad or at Home, would
 be sure to use all his endeavours to revenge it.
 One cannot think he was at all Sollicitous for the
 Preservation of the *Reform’d Religion in France*, he
 who was so negligent of it in *England*. His aim
 was to embarrass *Richlieu*, and to let him see, if
 he intended to live in Friendship with his Master,
 he must do it by complying with him.

During these Transactions, there happen’d a Con-
 test between the Jesuits and the University of *Paris*,
 which made a great Noise; the former had pub-
 lish’d a Book under the borrow’d Name of *Santarel*,
 concerning *Heresy* and *Schism*, to justify their Op-
 inions, then generally decry’d by the Honest and
 Learned Men of *France* of both Religions. The
 University examin’d it, and publish’d Remarks up-
 on it, shewing the Falisities that were in it, and their
 Remarks serv’d to render the Fathers still more
 Odious. The Jesuits petition’d the King to inter-
 pose his Authority, and hinder the publishing such
 Invectives against them. For every thing is a Libel
 with those Statesmen and Clergymen that support
 their Cause by Falshood, and that cannot stand the
 Test of Truth; the University petition’d to be
 heard before they were condemn’d. *Santarel’s* Book
 was publish’d at *Rome* with the License of the
 Superior of the Society, and maintain’d that the
 Pope whose Tribunal is the same with *Jesus Christ*,
 had a right to depose Kings if they did not defend
 the Church. It was Dedicated to the Cardinal of
Savoy, and countenanc’d by all the Jesuited Papists.
 The Parliament of *Paris* examin’d it as well as the
 University

University, they condemn'd it to be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman, Coron and the Jesuits were heard before the Sentence was put in Execution, their Prevarications, Evasions and Equivocations shew how ill Craft behaves it self in the Face of Justice. The first President said, *Speak plainly, do you believe the Pope can Excommunicate the King, and absolve his Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity?* How Gentlemen, reply'd the good Fathers, *Excommunicate the King? He is the Eldest Son of the Church, he will never do any thing that shall drive the Pope to that Extremity.* The Magistrates demanded if their General did not believe the Pope had such a Power. The Jesuits answer'd, *Our General is at Rome, he cannot help approving the Doctrine generally approv'd of in the Country where he lives.* And do you, Gentlemen, say the Magistrates, *believe what is taught at Rome concerning these Articles?* No, reply'd the Jesuits, *our Sentiments are quite contrary. Would they be so were you at Rome?* Contin'd the President. The Jesuits answer'd, *We shou'd talk like the rest.* The good Fathers having no Redress in Parliament, and Cardinal de Richlieu declaring himself in favour of the Assembly, they were forc'd to Sign a Writing disapproving a Doctrine, which however, they continu'd to assert upon all occasions.

The compass we have circumscrib'd ourselves in this History, will not admit us to enter into Particulars of such Military or Political Actions as were done on the publick Stage of the World, or are to be met with in the general History of France. For that reason nothing is said of the League Lewis enter'd into with the Italians and Swiss, for the recovery of the *Valteline* from the *Spainards*. This was the cause of the great Difference between the the Courts of *Spain* and *France*, and had like to have come to an open Rupture, which *Richlieu*, who had the ruin of the Protestants in *France* in his Head, was against, but he durst not make it known for fear of bringing upon himself the Hatred of those Allies, that were to be deserted by an Accommodation

dation with *Spain*; which was privately negotiated by the Count *du Fargis*, Ambassador in *Spain*, while the Cardinal was giving the Confederats new Assurances of his Master's acting vigorously in Concert with them to prevent the Growth of the greatness of the House of *Austria* on the side of *Italy*. Father *Berrulle*, who had a great Influence over the Queen Mother, was instigated by some of *Richlieu's* Emisfaries, to remonstrate to the Queen, that his Majesty's Alliances with Hereticks were a great Prejudice to the Catholick Religion. The Cardinal wou'd not appear in it himself, but he got others of his Creatures to perswade the Countess *du Fargis*, the Ambassador's Wife and a Favourite of *Mary de Medicis*, to insinuate the same things to her, and engage her to forward a Peace between the Two Crowns. The Countess was ambitious of the Honour that wou'd accrue to her Husband if he cou'd conclude a Treaty in Spite, as she thought, of *Richlieu*, who at the bottom set both her and Father *Berrulle* to work, about a Thing he durst not himself appear in. The Countess press'd *Mary de Medicis* concerning it so warmly, that at last the Queen order'd her to write to her Husband to Sign the Treaty without any further delay, and to assure him that she wou'd procure her Son's Ratifications. *Du Fargis* accordingly Signs it unknown to the King, who when he heard it, fell into a Passion, declar'd he wou'd disown it, recal and severely Punish the Ambassador; the Queen Mother and the Cardinal heard him patiently, and after the first heat was over, the Cardinal blaming the Count's Conduct, shew'd the Advantages that wou'd arise by the Treaty to his Majesty and his Allies, so much to the satisfaction of the Council, that not one of whom dar'd to oppose a Thing the Cardinal had approv'd of; the Treaty was confirm'd, only the King insisted that some Articles shou'd be explain'd, and order'd his Ambassador to demand Audience of Leave, if it was not done as he requir'd; but *Mary de Medicis* caus'd it to be intimated to *du Fargis*, that he shou'd not be too

Scrupulous

scrupulous in obeying those Orders, nor start Difficulties which might obstruct the Peace. The Cardinal being for it, the Business came soon to an issue, notwithstanding the Oppositions it met with from the King's Allies when they knew it, and that the Prince of *Piedmont* came to the Court of *France* in Person to hinder its being concluded.

Such was the Authority of Cardinal *de Richlieu* in the Court of *Louis* the XIIIth. Treaties were made and broken at his Pleasure, and as he govern'd absolutely the Mind of his Master, so every one was oblig'd to a compliance with him, or they were sure to be ruin'd by him, his lust of Revenge being equal to that of his Ambition.

It has been hinted that the Duke *de Anjou*, whom we must now call'd Duke *de Orleans*, wou'd have marry'd *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, and that the King oppos'd his Marriage, the Cardinal having let that Princess know she was oblig'd to him for its being set a Foot again; he condescended to make advances to *Ornano*, the Duke's Favourite, who resenting his Imprisonment before the Marquis *de Vieuville's* Disgrace, rejected those Advances, and openly dispos'd his Friendship, thinking himself Safe in the Protection of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown. The Prince and Princess of *Conde* obstructed the Marriage, in hopes the Duke wou'd prefer their Daughter's Beauty to that of *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*. *Ornano* was in Love with the Princess, and promis'd her to dissuade the Duke *de Orleans* from reviving a Negotiation which the King had commanded him to put a stop to. The Lords of the Court, apprehensive of the too great Powers of the *Guise's*, the Duke of that Name having marry'd the Mother of *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, were for the most Part against that Princess's Marriage with Monsieur; the Dutchess *de Chevreuse*, one of the most Intriguing Ladies of the Court, was engag'd in the same Interest by the Queen *Anne* of *Austria*, whom the Princess of *Conde* had set against the Match. The Marquis *de Chalais*, Great Master of the Wardrobe, and the Dutchess *de Chevreuse's* Lover embrac'd

the same Party, as did also the Favourite *Baradas Chalais* having kill'd Monsieur *Pontgibaut* in a Duel, his Uncle, the Count *de Schomberg*, and the *Guises*, demanded Justice on the Murderer; the Duke *de Orleans*, the Count *de Soissons*, and a great number of Lords solicited his Pardon; the Grand Prior, *Chalais's* intimate Friend, engag'd him entirely in the Interest of the Duke *de Orleans*, which prov'd fatal to him a few Months after. In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* hearing the Duke *de Orleans* was advis'd by *Ornano* and his Friends to strengthen himself by some Foreign Alliance, offer'd him, by his Ambassador, the Abbot *Scaglia*, his Grand-Daughter, the Princess of *Mantua*, Heiress of *Montferrat*. *Richlieu* was the more earnest in forwarding the Match with the Princess *de Montpensier*, and the Party that oppos'd it, resolv'd to rid themselves and the Nation of him, if possible. The *Spaniards* hoping to embroil Matters, fomented it; the Duke of *Buckingham* gave the Duke *de Orleans* assurance of Assistance from *England*; *Aersens*, the Dutch Ambassador, was in the Intrigue, and the Princes who were Enemies to the House of *Austria*, hating *Richlieu* for breaking the Alliance between *France* and them, were all ready to contribute to his Ruin, but the extricated himself by his wonderful Management out of all Difficulties to the Destruction of his Enemies both at Home and Abroad. He began with the Marquis *d'Ornano*, who having the entire Government of the Duke *d'Orleans*, was the most dangerous of them. In order to betray the Marquis, he got his Creature the Capuchin Father *Joseph* to insinuate himself into *Ornano's* Friendship; and the Command of an Army design'd for the Blockade of *Rochelle* being to be dispos'd of, Father *Joseph* represented to the Marquis that the Duke ought to demand that Post, and not to be put off with a Refusal or two, promising he wou'd get the Cardinal to support his Pretences; accordingly *Ornano* got his Master to demand it, instead of supporting him, *Richlieu* told the King, that his Brother intended by it to make himself Master of the Forces

Forces of the State, and was put upon it by *Ornano*, who fill'd his Head with Ambitious Designs, which created an incurable Jealousy in *Lewis*, who resolv'd to take hold of the first Opportunity to Punish the Marquis. The *Mareschal de Praslin* dying some time after, *Gaston* remonstrated that the Batoon was due to the Faithful Services of the Man who had had the Care of his Education. *Richlieu* did not fail to put the same bad Construction on this Remonstrance, and to increase the King's Jealousy of his Brother and *Ornano*, insomuch, that he propos'd in Council, to have the latter Arrested, but *Mary de Medicis* who desir'd to keep fair with the Duke d'*Orleans*, her Second Son, and to gain *Ornano*, shew'd the Hazard there was in taking so desperate a Step, and that *Gaston* ought rather to be satisfy'd in a Thing that was Titular only, and was of no Consequence, without a Command. So the Marquis had the Batoon, and the Queen Mother, to win him, let him know 'twas owing to her Instances. He promis'd, at her Request, to promote the Marriage between his Master and the Princess de *Montpensier*. Now was this Favourite of the King's only Brother Caress'd, and Court'd by all; not the Cardinal himself had more Court made to him. Amidst this Glare of Fortune, 'tis no wonder he was dazzled with it into a Security which prov'd his Destruction. The Cardinal was all the while working it with great Artifice and Industry, and the Court in the Spring, 1626-7, being at *Fontainebleau*, where nothing but Pleasure and Diversions were thought of, *Richlieu* insinuates to *Lewis*, that all those who oppos'd his Brother's Marriage, were in a Conspiracy to shut him up in a Convent, and to marry his Brother to his Queen *Anne of Austria*. *Lewis* in a mortal Fright, press'd the Duke d'*Orleans*'s Marriage with *Madamoiselle de Montpensier* more than ever, and gave the Mareschal positive Orders to prepare the Duke to satisfy his Majesty in that matter. *I will do all I can*, says the Mareschal, *but I don't find that Monsieur is at all dispos'd to it*. This Answer made *Lewis* still more Jealous of *Ornano*, and it was

resolv'd that his Person shou'd be secur'd. The Cardinal, to prevent any manner of Suspicion, seem'd more than ever to be desirous of the Marechal's Friendship, and Father *Joseph* maliciously remonstrated to him, what an Injustice it was to the Duke d' Orleans, that he had no Place at the Council Board. *Ornano* perswades his Master to demand it, *Richlieu* represents it as a Design of his Brother's to raise a Party even in his Majesty's Council; that he was put upon it by *Ornano*, whose Ambition it was to be at the Head of Affairs. *Gaston* was with much difficulty admitted. *Ornano* demanded to attend his Master to Council. The King's Jealousy had new Fuel to rekindle it, and the Resolution taken to Arrest the Marechal was put in Execution, under pretence of some intercepted Letters, between the Party that oppos'd the Marriage of Monsieur, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the Courts of Spain and Savoy. The Duke d' Orleans was inrag'd at the Imprisonment of his Favourite, but his Rage did him no Service. The Duke demanded of the Chancellor *Aligre* whether he had given Council for the Imprisonment of *Ornano*, the Chancellor denys it, and for that has the Seals taken from him. *Ornano's* Friends are Imprison'd, and all the Queen Consort's Confidants banish'd from Court. *Richlieu* by Bribes and Promises, corrupted the Duke of Orleans's Servants, and Monsieur, who had put himself at the Head of a Powerful Party, to destroy the Cardinal, was in the end oblig'd to do as others did, and comply with the Minister. The Duke d' Orleans not being able to procure the Release of *Ornano*, in the Height of his Resentment, gave Ear to some Lords, who animated him so far against *Richlieu*, that 'twas resolv'd to take him off. The better to conceal their Resolution, *Gaston*, in appearance, was reconcil'd to him, and seven or eight Friends agreed to Dine with him at *Fleury*, under Colour of Hunting. The Design was said to be either to Kill him, or to force him to Swear, the Dagger at his Throat, that he wou'd not obstruct the Marechal d' *Ornano's* Liberty. The Grand Prior is charg'd to be the Author

thor of this Conspiracy; *Chalais* promis'd to be one in it, but his Heart fail'd him, and he discover'd it to the Cardinal, who sent him to the King to inform him of it. *Lewis* at Eleven a Clock at Night, dispatch'd an Officer with a Detachment of Guards, for *Richlieu's* Defence, and the Queen Mother sent him the *Noblesse* that were at her Devotion. The next Morning, about Four a Clock, came the Duke d'Orleans's Servants to let those of the Cardinal know, their Master wou'd be there at Dinner Time. The Cardinal rose early, and coming to *Fontainebleau*, where the Court then was, went directly to the Duke's Apartment, to whom he said, *Indeed, Sir, I have Reason to be angry with you, that you wou'd not do me the Honour to Command me to provide a Dinner for you; I shou'd have Entertain'd you as well I cou'd, but I perceive you love to be at Liberty, therefore I have left my House to you intirely, to dispose of every thing there at your Pleasure.* *Gaston* surpriz'd at seeing him there, and at a Compliment which he did not expect, dissembled it as well as he cou'd, and they discours'd together as freely and as civilly, as if nothing had happen'd. *Richlieu* growing every Day more Absolute, and his Enemies more exasperated, he thought it time by some Exemplary Chastisement, to give a Check to future Conspiracies. He conceiv'd a mortal Hatred to the House of *Savoy*, on the Score of Abbot *Staglias's* Negotiations with his Enemies and *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, and he did each other all the Injury they cou'd. The Duke de *Vendome* and the Grand Prior, the King's Natural Brothers, were the first that felt the Effects of the Cardinal's Resentment. *Richlieu* pretends to be weary of Business, on account of his ill State of Health, and wrote a Letter to his Majesty, to desire Permission to retire to his House at *Limours*, conjuring also the Queen Mother to interceed for him with the King. Both *Lewis* and his Mother were alarm'd at this feign'd Resolution of the Cardinal, they immediately wrote him a Letter, desiring him not to leave them, when his good Councils and Services were so necessary.

The King assur'd him of his Protection against the Duke d' Orleans, the Princes and great Lords of the Court. They promis'd to let him know whatever was said to his Prejudice, without requiring him to justify himself. In short, they appointed a Guard for his Person, which consisted of a Troop of Horse. *Richlieu* was prevail'd upon by these endearing Promises, to quit his Retreat, and assume the Government. He, with a great deal of affected Modesty, excus'd his taking a Guard, saying it would be more Glorious for him to dye in his Majesty's Service; and 'twas with much seeming Reluctance that he accepted of it. But this Modesty of his wore off afterwards, and he not only kept his Guards to his Death, but fill'd his Troop with Pick'd Men, and the Captain of it stood always fairest for the Highest Military Dignities. The Duke d' Orleans, and the Prince of Conde, tho' both hated him, visited him at *Limours*, and sollicit'd his good Offices for them with the King. Tho' *Conde* was not confin'd to his Government of *Berri*, yet he cou'd not come to Court without the King's Leave, to procure which, he apply'd to *Richlieu* in his Retirement. Some of the Cardinal's Creatures in the Duke of Orleans's Family, represented to the Duke, that if the Prince was recall'd to Court, it was with a design to remove him by degrees from the Cognizance of Affairs, and advis'd him to prevent the Prince. Accordingly the Duke got to *Limours* the Day before *Conde*, to reconcile himself to the Cardinal, who made as if he did it only because he cou'd not refuse it; whereas at the bottom 'twas the thing of the World he most desir'd, it being by no means safe for him to have the King's only Brother his Enemy. The next Day the First Prince of the Blood came to him on the same Errand, to desire his Friendship and Mediation with the King, that he might return to *Paris* to look after his Domestick Affairs; and as for his being recall'd to Court, he left it wholly to his Majesty's good Pleasure. *Richlieu* caress'd and amus'd him with fair Words, but gave him no positive Answer.

The

The Cardinal being refused to return to his Ministry, Pretended his Health would not permit him to come nearer *Paris* than *Chalior*, where he took up his Lodging at Monsieur *Castille's*, Father-in Law to Monsieur *Chalais*, whose Life he was then Treacherously designing upon. *Chalais* discover'd whatever the Dutchesse *de Chevreuse* had told him, and *Richlieu* engag'd him further to serve him to his utmost with his Interest in the Duke d' *Orleans*. The Cardinal instructed him to advise the Duke to leave the Court, and retire to some strong Place, as *Havre de Grace*, which would be the only way to obtain the Marshal *Ornano's* Liberty. *Gaston* was some time for that Place, at other times for *Laon* in *Piccardy*, and *Chalais* gave the King an exact Account of all his Projects; to which he added, out of his own Invention, to render himself more necessary to *Lewis* and the Ministers: By these wicked Devices, was the King made to believe *Ornano* was as Criminal, as the Cardinal pretended, and that his Brother, fearing he would be brought to his Tryal, was resolv'd, at any rate, to endeavour to save him. The Dutchesse *de Chevreuse* was the Person who press'd Monsieur most to leave the Court, but Matters were not as yet well enough concerted. In the mean time, the Duke *de Vendome* and his Brother, the Grand Prior, having been tempted to *Blois*, where the King then resided, were both Arrested there; and the Duke of *Orleans* frighten'd at that bold Proceeding, thought it most for his Interest, to dissemble a little longer, and to keep fair with *Richlieu*. He demanded the Release of *Ornano*, to have his Appenage fix'd, and his Yearly Pension augmented. The Cardinal stood off a little, but yielded after some Resistance. He pretended at first to be surpriz'd, that *Gaston* should apply to him, threatening that he would not concern himself for his Royal Highness, since Monsieur would do nothing for the King's Satisfaction. And the Imprisonment of the Duke *de Vendome* and the Grand Prior, so alarm'd him, that he sent away the Abbe d' *Aubazine* to the Duke d' *Epernon*, to demand a Retreat in *Guyenne*. *Chalais*, the Grand Prior's

intimate Friend, was enrag'd at his being Arrested, but giving himself to the Duke of *Orleans*, perswaded him to retire to *Metz*, engaging to procure the *Marquis de la Valette* to receive him; but neither the *Marquis* nor his Father wou'd hear of it. On the contrary, *d' Epernon* sent the Letter *Orleans* wrote him, to the King. *Gaston* was advis'd to go strait to *Rochelle*, but that was thought to be too much in favour of the *Reform'd*. The Count *de Soissons* offer'd him 500000 Crowns, and 8000 Foot, and 500 Horse, if he wou'd take Arms against the Minister. *Chalais* continu'd to give *Richlieu* Information, as if he was still his Spy, and pretended to Monsieur to act the same Part for him with the Cardinal. But the Minister was too cunning for him, and gave him to understand that he was no Stranger to his Correspondence with *Gaston*. *Chalais*, out of fear of Inconstancy, made a New Discovery, and repented of it a Day or Two after. He then told the Cardinal, that he cou'd serve him no further with Monsieur. *Richlieu* had got enough out of him to take off his Head, and *Louvigni*, who hated him for siding with the Count *de Candale*, the Duke *d' Epernon*'s Eldest Son, with whom he had a Quarrel of Gallantry, they both being in Love with the Dutcheß of *Rohan*, inform'd *Richlieu*, that *Chalais* had sent a Domestick of his to *Metz*, to perswade the *Marquis de la Valette* to receive the Duke of *Orleans* into *Metz*. *Louvigni* added, that *Chalais* promis'd to kill the King, and that *Gaston* and his Confidants were in the Conspiracy. The Court being then at *Nantes* in *Bretagne*, *Chalais* was Arrested, and the Parliament had Orders to proceed against him. *Chalais* confess'd whatever they wou'd have him: *Richlieu* privately visited him in Person, and promis'd to get his Pardon, if he wou'd not confess that he had been instigated by him, to sollicite the Duke of *Orleans* to leave the Court, and persisted in confirming *Louvigni*'s Information, that there was a Conspiracy against the King, and that *Gaston* had suborn'd him to murder his Brother.

The

The most that was in this Plot of *Gaston*, was a Talk among some of the most forward of his Creatures. to get the King declar'd to be Impotent, and to marry the Queen, but neither the Queen, nor Monsieur, nor the *Vendomes*, nor *Ornano* ever heard a word of it; yet this, as bad as it was, did not content the Traytor *Richlieu*, he must have *Gaston* and his Friends Sworn into an Assassination Plot. *Chalais*, under the Terrors of Death, is made to Swear any thing; the Cardinal still flatter'd him with Hopes of a Pardon, and bad him fear nothing, tho he shou'd be condemn'd to dye, *On the Word of a Priest*, says he, *you shall have it, I will answer my Life for yours, and as soon as ever I am got a little out of these Difficulties, I will so manage it, that the King shall load you with Honours and Riches.* *Gaston* in a Letter he wrote the King afterwards, affirms, he had clear and evident Proof of it.

See what wicked Ministers will do to blacken those that oppose them. Was there ever a more damnable Treason? *Chalais* confesses Things he never heard of before, his Life is promis'd him, but those Promises are forgot, and 'tis in vain that he cries out on the Scaffold, *The Traytor Cardinal brought me hither.* The Duke d' Orleans solicited for a Reprieve, but to no purpose; he had try'd several Lords, but none wou'd receive him, and his Confidants advis'd him to come to an Accommodation with his Brother, who was now as much for his marrying *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, as he had before been against it. The more *Gaston* was press'd to it out of a Spirit of Levity or Contradiction, the more he was averse to it, *I had rather be damn'd than marry'd*, said he with equal Folly and Impiety, *Richlieu* urging it very much one Day, he reply'd, *I will marry Madamoiselle de Montpensier, but not so soon as you wou'd have me; I have a Distemper upon me, and will be cur'd of it first.* The Cardinal was a little confounded, and believing his Confidants set him against the Marriage; when they came to speak with him about something concerning their Master, he said, *Have not you all Distempers*

pers' as well as *Monsieur*. *Gaston* was as Wicked and Profane as his Brother was Bigotted and Superstitious. One day, after having embrac'd the King his Brother, and kiss'd the Queen Mother very orderly and affectionately, he fell all of a sudden into a kind of a Fit, *Mary de Medicis* ask'd what was the Matter with him, all the Answer he made her was Swearing and Cursing in a most execrable Manner, that he was ill us'd; The Queen Mother reply'd, How can you expect to be happy that do not fear God; you have not been at Confession this long while, and the remorse of Conscience torments you: Do not you trouble yourself about that, says *Monsieur*, I care no more for God than I do for the Devil. *Lewis* and *Mary de Medicis* were struck Dumb, to hear his Blasphemy; the Cardinal said their Majesties ought not to suffer him in their Presence, and applying himself to *Gaston*, continu'd, You forget, Sir, that you are before the King, how could you say Things that ought never to come out of the Mouth of a Person of your Rank? The Duke d' Orleans held his Tongue, but when he went away said to his Mother, I pray you Madam to advise the Cardinal never to take the Liberty to give me Lessons, I am too Old now to endure a Pedant about me. *Richlieu* who took hold of all Advantages to destroy his Enemies, pretended to be in a wonderful Surprize, and insinuated to the Queen Mother, that *Ornano* must certainly have bewitch'd the Duke of Orleans. The Marechal was mightily addicted to Judicial Astrology, and that gave a colour to his Insinuations. *Gaston*, who had as much Inconstancy as Impiety, soon after made his Peace with his Brother and the Cardinal, and marry'd *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. *Richlieu* manag'd him so well for his purpose, that he got out of him a Declaration, in which he confess'd that the Count de *Soissons* advis'd him to retire to *Rochelle*, that the Queen, his Sister-in-Law, had written him several Letters to dissuade him from marrying the Princess of *Montpensier*, that the Savoy Ambassador, the Earl of *Holland*, the English Minister, and the Dutch Ambassador *Monsieur Aersens*

seus were in the Intrigue. In return for this Declaration, besides the Dutchy of *Orleans*, he hath the Dutchy of *Chartres*, and the County of *Blois* settled on him, and his Revenue was augmented to a Million of Livres, over and above what the Heiress of *Montpensier* brought him. Upon the Imprisonment of the Duke de *Vendome*, Governor of *Bretagne*, the Cardinal, who wanted to have some Maritime Province at his Disposal to secure a Retreat upon occasion, intended to get that Government for himself; but the King, who for once ventur'd to give away a Thing himself, bestow'd it on the Marschal de *Themines*. *Richieu* in a little time got a Post erected for him, that of *Intendant General* of the *Navigation and Commerce* of France; which put the *Marine* entirely into his Possession. While the Court was at *Nantes*, the Dutchesse de *Chevreuse* withdrew into *Lorraine*, and thence to *England*; the Count de *Soissons* went to *Rome*, and *Lewis* was so spiteful as to send to his Ambassador to hinder his having the Title of *Highness* there, in which the Count de *Bethune* excus'd himself, writing in Answer, *if the Count de Soissons is guilty, the King ought to punish him in France, and not mortify him in a way wherein the Honour of the Crown is concern'd. I had rather quit any Employ than have a share of an Indignity, which will be an Eternal Reproach to me.* The Queen herself, *Anne of Austria*, was not much better treated than the rest; *Richieu* not satisfy'd with rendering her Odious to the King, her Husband, perswaded him to have her Summon'd before the Council, and *Lewis* charg'd her in their Presence that she wou'd have had two Husbands at a time. *Chalais's* Deposition about the Plot, to shut him up in a Convent was read to her; no Man was allow'd to enter her Cabinet or Chamber unless *Lewis* was present. *Richieu* wou'd have had the Two Brothers the Duke de *Vendome* and the Grand Prior try'd for their Lives by Commissioners, a way made use of first in this Reign, for the Ministers to appoint Persons to Judge those they wou'd take off, by which means they

could

cou'd not fail of being murder'd, the Judges being all their Creatures. However, the Council did not think it proper to proceed against the King's two Natural Brothers, contrary to the Rules of Law; the Privileges of Peerage was pleaded for the Duke of *Vendome*, and the Order of *Maltha* for the Grand Prior; so they were both shut up in the Castle of *Vincennes*, and the Cardinal remain'd absolute Master.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being disgusted, as has been already observ'd at the Cardinal's opposing his Embassy to *France*, resolv'd, as he said he wou'd, if he cou'd not come as an Ambassador, to come as a General. *Soubize* animated him to a Rupture, by remonstrating to him the Grievances of the *Reform'd*, and the Glory that wou'd redound to him to procure Redress of them. The King of *England* dispatch'd *De Vic*, a French Protestant, to the Duke de *Rohan*, to inquire into the State of their Affairs, and get the *Reform'd* to apply to his *Britannick* Majesty as Guaranty of the last Treaty. The Duke sent *Blancart* to *London*, to give the King and the Duke an exact Account of all Things, and he acquitted himself so well of his Commission, that it was resolv'd in *England* to assist the French Protestants, which encourag'd them to begin a new War, the Third War of Religion in this Reign.

Richlieu's Authority being greater than ever after the discovery of the pretended Conspiracy of *Chalais*, it embolden'd him to make an attempt against *Baradas*, the Favourite, who had intermeddl'd too much in the Affair of the Duke of *Orleans's* Marriage. The Queen Mother and the Cardinal resenting that he had obstructed it by degrees brought the King to an Indifference towards him, and he was then order'd to leave the Court; *Baradas* had not that Command of himself which was necessary on that Occasion, and challeng'd the Commander de *Souvre* in the King's Chamber, for which he was banish'd the *Louvre*, and turn'd out of all his Offices. *Richlieu*, to maintain his own Authority, us'd many Artifices

Artificies to keep up the Jealousy there was between the King and Duke of *Orleans*. The Two Brothers very often stood in need of their Mother's Mediation, and *Mary de Medicis* did nothing but in concert with the Cardinal. The Dutcheſs of *Orleans* being with Child, the Duke had as great Court made to him as the King himſelf, his Children were like to inherit the Crown, and the King's Impotence, as was then thought, ſecur'd that Inheritance beyond doubt; *Gaston* ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by great Lords and Courtiers, began to think of revenging the ill Treatment the *Mareſchal Ornano*, the Two *Vendomes* and his other Friends had met with. The Cardinal gave him to underſtand that if he offer'd to attack him, the Prince of *Conde*, and Count *de Soiffons* ſhou'd be recall'd to Court. The Duke of *Guiſe* and the other Lords that were ally'd to the Duke of *Orleans* by his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Montpenſier*, kept the Cardinal in continual Apprehenſions. To eaſe himſelf of them, he reſolv'd upon the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Party, and to humble the great Lords by leſſening their Pensions, and taking from them the ſtrong Holds in their Poſſeſſion. The Proteſtants were a Party powerful enough to turn the Scale to whatever ſide they embrac'd, and ſuch a Power did not at all conſiſt with that of a Miniſter who cou'd not ſuffer a Rival, and conſequently had made himſelf ſo many Enemies. To ſilence the Clamours of the People, he perſwaded the King to ſummon an Aſſembly of the Notables in the Year 1627; Men pickt by himſelf, who under the appearance of a fair and equal Aſſembly, confirm'd the many Breaches this Tyrannical Miniſter had made in the Conſtitution of *France*.

What elſe cou'd be expected from Men devoted to the Court, from Clergymen and Lawyers whoſe Fortune depended upon it? I ſhall not therefore enter into their Proceedings, nor repeat the Speeches of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, his Creature, both full of the greateſt Falſhood and Flattery; the appearance was Pompous, the

the King came to the Assembly attended by his Brother, the Marechals of *France*, and the Knights of the Orders. 'Twas to these Notables that *Rich-lieu* caus'd the Demolition of several Places to be propos'd, on purpose to lessen the Authority of the Governors of Provinces. He wou'd not take the Odium of it on himself, but turn'd it all upon them. Retrenching the Pensions was another popular Article which the Minister represented to the Assembly, and they regulated accordingly. These two Affairs were the most Important that were transacted by them, and after they had sat Two Months they were dismiss'd.

In the mean while, the Court in Complacency to that of *Rome*, order'd the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to examine *Santerel's* Book beforemention'd. Of Sixty Eight Doctors, Fifty were gain'd over and declar'd for a New and Softer Censure: Eighteen stood to the last. The Parliament made an *Arret* forbidding any one, on Pain of High Treason, to Publish any other Censure than what had been already publish'd. The King commanded the first President, and the Magistrates to attend him, when they came he forbid them to intermeddle with the Affairs of the *Sorbonne*, adding, otherwise *I shall make you know that I am Master*. A Language which by this time, the Parliament was pretty well accusom'd to. *Verdun*, who dy'd not long after, reply'd very respectfully, that the Parliament had no other View than to provide for the Security of the King's Person, and the Preservation of his Authority, and that the Magistrates desir'd to make their most humble Remonstrances to his Majesty on that Subject., *I will not have you meddle with it any more*; says the King, *If you have any Thing to Remonstrate to me do it now*. The first President answer'd, *We have no Commission, Sir, the Assembly must first deliberate what they have to represent to your Majesty*. Well, well, says the King, *I forbid you to take Cognizance of this Matter, my Council is as much concern'd as you for the Security of my Life and the Preservation of my Authority*.

thority. In fine the Parliament was forc'd to submit and to please the Pope a Censure that was so much for the Interest and Honour of the *French* Monarchy was repeal'd, which was a sort of Acknowledgment of the Doctrine asserted in it, that Kings might be depos'd by the Pope, and their Subjects absolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance: To put the better face on this base Compliance, Cardinal *Spada*, the Pope's Nuntio, was desir'd by *Herbaut*, Secretary of State, to get the Pope's Condemnation of these dangerous Tenets; but *Spada* wou'd not charge himself with so Offensive a Commission, and *Santarel's* Doctrine was in a manner confirm'd by this Submission to the Pleasure of the Court of *Rome*, by which the Cardinal ingratiated himself with *Urban* the VIIIth, and being well with his Holiness, he had little to fear from the Enemies to his Ministry. The Clamours at the Injustice done the King's Two Natural Brothers did not cease, and *Richlieu*, to justify his Conduct, had recourse to his wicked Artifices to draw out of the Two *Vendomes* a Confession of what is call'd *Chalais's* Conspiracy. Mighty Matters were promis'd them, if they wou'd confess. The Dutcheß *d' Elbeuf*, their Sister, with whom they had no good understanding, was engag'd to attempt them, she sent a Gentleman to perswade them to reveal the whole Secret to the King; he made great Professions of Friendship and Service in the Name of *Madam d' Elbeuf*, if they wou'd discover all they knew concerning the Proposition of the Duke of *Orleans's* Marriage with the Queen, and pres'd the Grand Prior to Name the Courtiers that were in the Plot. *Chalais* said something, added he, and *Madam de Chevreusé* has declar'd other Circumstances, but no Body knows so much as you. The Grand Prior protested he never heard a Word of it, and that he detested any such Thing. 'Tis true, continu'd he, I endeavour'd to hinder *Monsieur's* marrying *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*; I did not think it for his Majesty's Interest, or for that of the State, but I made use of no other means than what the King us'd when
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he obstructed it. The Gentlemen than demanded of him, if he had not advis'd the Duke of Orleans to retire to *Sedan* or *Metz*: The Grand Prior deny'd it. Then, as had been concerted before, enter'd a Keeper of the Castle at *Vincennes*, upon which the Gentleman said aloud, *I am talking with Monsieur the Grand Prior, about something tending to his Liberty; he owns he was in the Intrigue to obstruct the Duke of Orleans's Marriage, and of the Cabals that have made so much Noise of late; and the Project had succeeded, in case Monsieur had retir'd to Metz or Sedan.* The Grand Prior fell into a violent Passion, reproach'd the Gentleman with his Perfidy, repented what he had really said, and gave *Richlieu's* Commissary the Lye, as to several Circumstances of it. They practis'd with more Success on the Duke de Vendome, he bogg'd at first, but in the end he Sign'd a Confession, wherein there being enough to Condemn him, the Cardinal oblig'd him to Sign another, in which were many more things than he ever had been Guilty of, in hopes of his Liberty: *Richlieu* notwithstanding it had been promis'd him, kept him still in the Castle of *Vincennes*, where the Grand Prior, whom nothing cou'd work upon to accuse himself wrongfully, had much worse Usage, and bore it more like a Heroe.

The Reduction of *Rochelle* being resolv'd upon by the Cardinal, to enable his Master to make Head against the *English* Fleet, he, by the Intrigues of Father *Berulle*, enter'd into a Secret League with the *Spaniards*, by which the latter were oblig'd to furnish the *French* King with a good Number of Men of War, and to attack *Ireland* when the *English* attack'd *France*. At the same time did he renew an Alliance with the States General, against the *Spaniards*, who then were in hopes to reduce the *Seven Provinces*, which wou'd have been too great an Augmentation of the Power of the House of *Austria*. *Mirabel*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Paris*, got Intimation of it, and complain'd to *Richlieu*. *Have Patience*, says the Cardinal, *till we have done with England, you shall then see how ready we are to* assist

assist his Catholick Majesty against all his Enemies, not excepting the United Provinces. The Dutch Ambassador having also Notice of the Secret Negotiation between Spain and France, complain'd too in his Turn, and Richlieu endeavour'd to satisfy him, by saying the quite contrary to what he had said to Mirabel. The King of England, instigated to it by his Favourite the Duke of Buckingham, sent Mr. Montague to the Duke of Lorraine, whom the Dutchess de Chevreuse had prepar'd to enter into a Confederacy against France. Montague from Lorraine went to Turin, and the Duke of Savoy enter'd into the same Engagement. From thence he went to Languedoc, and by Promises, which had they been perform'd, wou'd have secur'd the Protestant Religion in France, encourag'd the Duke of Rohan to engage the Reform'd of Languedoc in the Quarrel. The Duke of Lorraine, as soon as the English had made a Descent in France, was to Invade Piccardy or Champagne with his own Troops; and some Germans, whom the Emperor irritated by the French Intrigues in Germany, was to lend him. The Duke of Savoy was to send the Count de Soissons at the Head of an Army, to attack Dauphiny and Provence; the Duke de Rohan was to rise in Languedoc, and the English to Land 30000 Men in Normandy and Guyenne, for the Defence of Rochelle; but Buckingham's ill Conduct and Fortune, render'd this fair Project Abortive. Montague was seiz'd in France, and sent to the Bastille, and the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy did not stir.

During these Foreign Transactions, there happen'd an Event in France which deserves Notice only on Account of the Character of the late Duke and Marechal de Luxemburgh, whose Father, Francis de Montmerency, Count de Bouteville, lost his Head on a Scaffold, for having fought several Duels contrary to the King's Edicts. Bouteville was a great Favourite of the Duke of Orleans's, and that Prince resolv'd to endeavour his Rescue; but the Cardinal being inform'd of the Design, set so strong a Guard upon him, that there was no hopes of saving him

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but by Mediation, all which prov'd ineffectual. The Countess *de Bouteville* was brought to Bed of a Son a little while after her Husband was Beheaded, which Son, was he, whose Cruelties in *Holland*, whose Vices in *France*, and whose Successes in *Flanders*, have loaded his Memory with such an equal share of Glory and Infamy.

It was suspected, that the Duke of *Lorraine*, who came to *Paris* much about the time that *Montague* was Arrested, under Colour of demanding the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Bar*, had in view to engage the Duke of *Orleans* in the Confederacy above-mention'd; but that Prince since his Marriage, seem'd to have quitted all Thoughts of Politicks, and to apply himself wholly to his Diversions and Studies. The Dutchess, a Princess of an excellent Temper, won upon him so far, as to create a jealousy in his Favourites of her Influence over him, and the Duke, who was not a Man of the greatest Honour in the World, having been advis'd by *Monprison*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, to resent the Injustice done his Friends, the Mareschal *Ornano*, the *Vendomes* and others. *Orleans*, instead of hearkning to it, was so base as to inform the King of it, and *Monprison* was thrown into the *Bastille*. Not long after this, the Dutchess of *Orleans* was deliver'd of a Daughter, and four Days after dy'd. The Duke was a while very much troubld for the Loss of her, but Debauchery drove it out of his Head; and when he was reprov'd for his Lewdness, he wou'd say, 'Tis their Fault who will not let me Marry again. For the King, who had been under great Uneasinesses while his Sister-in-Law was with Child, fearing it might have been a Son, pray'd his Mother not to make haste in putting *Gaston* on a Second Marriage. His Brother *Lewis* affected an extraordinary Piety and Devotion, yet he wou'd not let his Brother marry, to prevent the Enormities he was Guilty of in his Infamous Amours. And the good Queen Mother finding *Lewis* wou'd not hear of it, and that *Gaston's* Health, and perhaps his Life, was in danger by his Lewd way of Living,

Living, was for the Duke's having a Mistress, rather than he should run rambling after all sorts of Strumpets. Upon this Permission, several of the Duke's Confidants offer'd themselves to procure for him: Pretty Girls were brought to Feast and Dance with him, in hopes he wou'd pitch upon one or other of them, and keep to her. But Gaston was for all of 'em, and perceiying the Design they had upon his Constancy, made a Jest of it, and Liv'd to his own liking.

To this time the Queen Mother and Cardinal, had had no misunderstanding, they seem'd to act always in concert, and Richlieu, in appearance, was her Creature. But now *Mary de Medicis* perceiv'd he was wholly bent on the Establishing himself, and neglected the Interest of his Benefactor. *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, which the Cardinal had obtain'd for him, grew weary of living in an entire Dependancee, and the Queen Mother cast her Eyes upon Father *Berulle*, to make him her Chief Minister, in opposition to *Richlieu*. *Berulle* had a great Reputation for Sanctity, but his Genius was, by no means equal to *Richlieu's*; and the Choice *Mary de Medicis* made, was not likely to support her against a Minister who had very little of the Affairs of the other World in his Head, and was so much taken up with this, which *Berulle* affected not to be. *Richlieu* saw into the Queen's Design, and therefore when she solicited a Cardinal's Hat for the Superior General of the Oratory, he privately oppos'd it to his utmost. But *Mary de Medicis's* Sollicitations with the Pope prevail'd, and the Father had the Cardinal's Hat given him at the next Promotion, when the King was on his Journey to open the Siege of *Rochele*. *Richlieu* was surpriz'd when he heard of it, and his Differences with the Queen Mother were now so often and so great, that his Confessor *Suffren*, who was usually employ'd to make 'em Friends again, found that Task a little too difficult for him. The Cardinal insinuated to the King, that his Mother had not forgotten her old

Affection for the Duke of *Orleans*, whom she lov'd better than him, and that she wou'd always remember the Death of the *Mareschal D' Ancre*. Upon this *Lewis's* Suspicions were reviv'd, and he conceiv'd an incurable Jealousy of his Mother and Brother. The Cardinal easily made him believe what he pleas'd, and the King thought he shoud not be able to defend himself against the Designs of his nearest Relations, without the help of *Richlieu*. No wonder that he was so Absolute a Master, and that every thing was done as he wou'd have it.

Our *English Histories* tell us enough of the Duke of *Buckingham's* shameful Expedition to assist the *Rochellers*, who, after much Debate, agreed to declare for him and the *Duke de Rohan*. Indeed the *Protestants of France* had reason to despair of maintaining their Religion, when their Brethren of *England* so carelessly Assisted them, and their Brethren of *Holland* Fought against them. The *Dutch* sent a Squadron of Men of War to joyn the *French Fleet*, intended to reduce *Rochelle*; but this Justice must be done the *Hollanders*, that while some High Flying Clergy Men in *England* were questioning the Lawfulness of assisting the *Reform'd in France*, as being Rebels to their *Popish King*, the Ministers in *Holland* preach'd with great Vigour and Freedom, against the *States General's* compliance with the *French King*. I shall refer the Reader to *General Histories* for the Siege of *Rochelle*, and the Three Unhappy Attempts of the *English* to relieve it, and only observe, that the King falling ill as he was setting out for the Siege, gave the Command of the Army to his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*; and repenting of it afterwards, took it from him again, as if he wou'd assume it himself; whereas in Truth, 'twas to give it to *Richlieu*, who now discharg'd the Offices of Constable and Admiral. *Gaston*, in Discontent, return'd to *Paris*, where he renew'd his Pleasures, and thus endeavour'd to divert his Melancholly. He distinguish'd the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of the Duke of *Nevers*, from the Beauties of the Court, and shew'd a Disposition

position to marry her, which his Mother oppos'd, having a Design to marry him to a Princess of Tuscany. Tho' Gaston was out of Humour with his Brother, he was in a very good one with his Sister-in-Law, Anne of Austria, whose Vertue is however well spoken of by the best Historians. The Queen and Duke carry'd themselves very friendly towards each other, and all they differ'd about, was, That the Duke wou'd have his Sister-in-Law remain Barren, and Anne of Austria pray'd to all the Saints in Paris, that she might have Children. Gaston meeting her one Day coming from her Devotion, *You come Madam,* says he smiling, *from soliciting your Judges against me, I wou'd willingly lose my Cause, provided the King had Credit enough for it.* The City of Rochelle being reduc'd, Anno 1628, Richlieu contented himself for the present with that Mortal Blow, which he had given the Hugonors, and all his Politicks tended to lessening the Power of the House of Austria. Cardinal Berulle, whose Zeal was as Fiery as his Theology was Mystical, advis'd the Queen Mother to use her Endeavours to break off his entring into any Confederacy with Heretical Princes, especially not to make Peace with England. What was said to Mary de Medicis on that Subject, may perhaps give one a better Idea of our Affairs, even than the English History. By continuing the War with the King of Great Britain, says Berulle, who is already weaken'd, and in ill Terms with his Subjects, we have reason to hope he will be soon forc'd to recal the Domesticks of his Queen, who have been discarded contrary to the Solemn Treaty, and to give over Persecuting the English Catholicks: Who knows but that God may re-establish the True Religion in England, while Heresy is destroying in France, in Germany, and elsewhere. Berulle, Marcellac Keeper of the Seals, and others, made these Impressions on the Mind of the Queen Mother, who was for ruining the Protestants in France, before any Foreign Expeditions were thought of. But Mary de Medicis's Influence was gone, she maintain'd it only by that of her late Favourite, and Richlieu laugh'd at their

Impotent Endeavours to obstruct his intended Measures. What most disturb'd him, was the Duke *de Rohan's* continuing in Arms in *Languedoc*, after *Rochelle* was taken: He held out with invincible Resolution against Three Armies, Commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke *de Montmerency*, and the Duke *d' Epemon*: And *Richlieu's* Heart being set upon relieving *Casal*, and preventing the *Spaniards* possessing *Monferrat*, an Army was rais'd, to be Commanded by the Cardinal in Person. He also got *Contarini*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, who was Mediator of the Peace between *England* and *France*, to engage *Charles* the First to promise that he wou'd not attack *Lewis* during his Absence to relieve *Casal*. The Cardinal oblig'd his Master to accompany him against his Will, as he had done at the Siege of *Rochelle*. The Queen Mother was left Regent, and the Duke *d' Orleans* accompany'd the King some part of his Journey to *Italy*, but made an Excuse afterwards to return to *Paris*, where his Mother affected to treat him with great Coldness, and he appear'd to be very much discontented with her, which was a Blind to deceive the World, and hide the Secret Intelligence they had, and their Design to ruin the Minister, if not to shut the King up in a Convent, for which he seem'd more fit than for the Throne. The Grand Prior dying soon after the King's Departure, 'twas suspected that *Richlieu* had caus'd him to be Poison'd. The Duke of *Orleans* in his Letter to the King, in the Year 1631, insinuates that the Suspicion of it was not ill grounded; for the Cardinal's Conscience was not so scrupulous, that he stuck at any such indirect means to rid himself of an Enemy. *Richlieu* triumph'd in *Italy*, the Governor of *Milan* rais'd the Siege of *Casal*, and in Three Months time the *French* Army was return'd to *Dauphiney*, to act against the Protestants. The Duke *de Rohan* despairing of Succours from the King of *England*, whose Friendship had been so fatal to him, sent an Envoy to *Spain*, to procure Assistance from *Philip*, offering for

for 600000 Ducats yearly to maintain 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horse to make a Diversion in *Languedoc*, *Dauphine* and *Provence* as the *Spaniards* shou'd think fit. *Clausel*, the Duke's Envoy, concluded a Treaty which was sent by *Petz*, a *Flemish* to the Duke *Felz* being taken in *France*, and that Negotiation discover'd, the *Reform'd* found it impossible, divided as they still were, to resist the Power that was employ'd against them.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Orleans* was, or seem'd to be passionately in Love with the Princess *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Mantua* and *Nevers*, which his Mother appear'd dissatisfy'd with, and *Gaston's* Resentment of the Obstacles she rais'd to that Match, made the World believe that the affected Differences between them were really grounded on *Mary de Medicis's* Importuning him to marry a Princess of *Tuscany*. The Duke, who disssembled all this while, went so far in his Amour, that the Queen fearing he wou'd take her from her Aunt, the Dutchess of *Longueville*, secur'd her Person and confin'd her to the Castle of *Vincennes*. The Duke complain'd aloud, and sent a Gentleman to the King in *Italy* to make his Complaints; the Cardinal not yet prepar'd to come to an open Quarrel with *Mary de Medicis*, approv'd of her Conduct, which at the bottom he was very uneasy at, doubting what wou'd be the effect of a Rupture between the Queen and her Son, or perhaps whether that Rupture was not feign'd, and a colour to the Designs that were form'd against him.

The Cardinal wou'd have been glad if *Gaston* had marry'd the Princess of *Mantua* against his Mother's Consent, 'twas a sure way to keep them at Variance, and thereby preserve his Authority, which he knew wou'd sink if the Duke of *Orleans* was marry'd to a Princess of *Tuscany*. The Dutchess of *Longueville* flatter'd *Combalet*, the Cardinal's Niece, that the Count de *Soissons* her Brother shou'd marry her, if *Richlieu* facilitated the Princess *Mary's* Marriage with Monsieur. This wou'd be a means of establishing *Richlieu's* Fortune, tho' the King shou'd

not Live, which his ill State of Health render'd very doubtful. The Publick, who judg'd by Appearances, cry'd out against the Violence and Obstinacy of *Mary de Medicis*, tho' she had done nothing but in Concert with her Son the Duke of Orleans. *Lewis* was for the Release of the Princess, and Cardinal de *Berulle*, who Innocently advis'd the security of her Person, as Innocently advis'd the setting her at Liberty; being inform'd by the Duke d' Orleans's Confessor, that *Gaston* never intended to take her away by Violence which was true enough, and the Princess's Name was only made use of to conceal the Intrigue the Queen Mother and her Son *Gaston* was carrying to out the Cardinal of his Ministry. The Duke d' Orleans promis'd at last he wou'd not marry without his Mother's and Brother's consent, and *Mary de Medicis* took the Princess *Mary of Mantua* into the Louvre, *Gaston* presently repairs thither as if he was in a mighty joy for her Deliverance, the Queen seem'd very much surpriz'd, and the Duke pretending highly to resent the force his Mother wou'd put on his Inclination, retir'd to *Montargis*, having before consulted with her about the Measures that were to be taken to accomplish their Designs.

'Tis said that the Queen Mother and the Duke of Orleans on the one side, and the Cardinal de *Richlieu* on the other, were govern'd by Two Astrologers, and that their Predictions were the Foundation of all their Counsels. *Fabroni*, a famous Italian Astrologer, assur'd *Mary de Medicis* that *Lewis* wou'd dye in a few Months; the Queen Mother thought she cou'd not secure the Administration to herself, but by marrying the Duke of Orleans to a Princess of *Tuscany*, who wou'd be entirely indebted to her for the Crown; Cardinal *Richlieu* depended as much on the Prediction of *Camponella* another Astrologer of *Italy*, who always told him the Duke of Orleans wou'd never Reign. This made him neglect *Gaston* as he did, while the Duke built on the Assurances given him by a Fortune Teller call'd *Duval*, who cast the King's Nativity,

Nativity, and declar'd he shou'd dye before the Son enter'd *Cancer* in the Year 1630. *Duval* was unfortunately but doubly in his Prophecies, the Cardinal having Information that he had cast the Duke of Orleans's Nativity, and flatter'd him with the hopes of Succeeding the King in so few Months, caus'd him to be apprehended, his Papers were seiz'd, and the very Scheme he had drawn found among them; *Duval* was Try'd and Condemn'd to the Galley.

These Transactions happen'd during the War in Italy and *Languedoc*, whether the King march'd when he return'd from *Piedmont*, and the first Enterprize he undertook was the Siege of *Privas*, the Capital of *Vivarez*, which being taken by Treason, the Garrison were put to the Sword, and the Inhabitants Plunder'd and Butcher'd, the Women violated, and the City laid in Ashes. Before this City fell several Gallant Officers, and among the rest the Marquis d' *Uxelles* and Monsieur *Des Portes*, who were to have had the Batoon if they had liv'd a few Days longer. Monsieur *de Marillac*, the Keeper of the Seal's Brother, was sent to *Privas* by the Queen Mother, to inform the King and Cardinal of the State of Affairs at Court, especially with Relation to the Princess of *Mantua*; he carry'd with him Letters of Recommendations for that Military Dignity, drawn in such pressing Terms, that there was no avoiding the giving him the Staff without an open Rupture; so *Richlieu* who had conceiv'd a Jealousy of the Two *Marillacs* and mortally hated both of them, got it for him. *Mary de Medici's* Project was by the help of the Keeper of the Seals, and the New Marechal to form a New Ministry under the Direction of Cardinal *de Berulle*, who was to be chief of it in Appearance, but the Power to be reserv'd for the Queen Mother and her Two Creatures; the latter depending on her Protection, devoted themselves entirely to her, and the fatal Consequence of this Project to them all was a terriable Lesson, to all other Persons to beware how they dared to make Head against a Minister who carry'd all before him.

'Twas

'Twas about *May 1629* that *Privas* was taken and destroy'd. *Alets*, frighten'd at the Destruction of the Capital, of the *Kyarez*, open'd her Gates to the Conqueror; the Conditions that were granted her were observ'd to take off some of the *Odium* which attended the Butchery at *Privas*, and this Moderation tempted the other Protestants Cities to follow her Example. However, the Duke de *Rohan* remain'd still firm, and wou'd hear of no other Terms but the Confirmation and Performance of their Edicts and Treaties. The Cardinal, who was impatient to apply himself to Foreign Affairs, the *Germans* again threatening *Mantua* and *Casal*, gave the Duke to understand, in the King's Name, that if he wou'd treat a part for himself his own Advantages shou'd be much greater than if he insist'd on a General Treaty; the Duke abhor'd a Seperate Treaty, the Nature of which is such, that it cannot be effected without breach of all the Ties of Honour, where Parties are engag'd on the Condition of mutual Defence in matters of Peril, on Terms that oblige them never to abandon one anothers Interest, nor conclude any thing without Participation and Consent, which is the Tenour of all Treaties, and an Article without which none cou'd subsist. What an Abhorrence must Men of Honour have for Propositions so contrary to Honesty and Equity, that wou'd divide them from their Allies. It is not for such Men as the Duke of *Rohan* was, to do a Thing so Base, so Detestable; he wou'd have a General Peace or none, which the Cities were in the End forc'd to comply with on the King's own Conditions, and it was proclaim'd in his Camp in *June*. By this Peace were the Protestants depriv'd of all their Security, the Fortifications of their Cities were raz'd, and the *Popish* Religion restord, Liberty of Conscience and their Temporal Privileges being only confirm'd to them, and that did not last long, tho' this Edict, as well as all the rest, was call'd, *Perpetual and Irrevocable*, as also the *Edict of Grace*, because the King wou'd have it worded in such a Manner that it might be taken for

for a pure effect of his Clemency, and not of a Stipulation between him and his Subjects, who were in Arms to obtain it. *Montauban* made some show of resistance after all the other Cities had submitted, but 'twas only to give *Richlieu* the Glory of reducing a Town that had made so brave a Defence, and driven the King himself from before it. The Cardinal had Intelligence within the Town, and tho' the *Mareschal de Bassompierre*, who was sent with a Body of Troops to take Possession of it, had the Gates shut against him, yet *Richlieu* was admitted as soon as he came before it; he Garrison'd it and order'd the Fortifications to be Levell'd. The Edict which was publish'd upon the Conclusion of the Peace, was no better observ'd than any of the rest had been, and within less than Two Years, says my Author, the Reform'd had so many Injuries done them as are hardly to be imagin'd. But Two Things hinder'd the hastning of their Destruction. These Two Things were the Combustions at Court, and the League with *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden. These Combustions and that League are too well known to deserve a Place in this History. I shall therefore only touch upon some Particulars of the former which the French Historians have not ventur'd on in their Annals that have the Publick Warrant. Before I enter upon the Quarrel between the Queen Mother and her ungrateful Servant, the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, I must give some Account of the Duke of *Orleans's* leaving the Kingdom, and retiring into *Lorrain*, it being done in concert with her. The King came to *Paris* in July 1629, the Duke hearing of his return, resolv'd to avoid seeing him, and withdrew to *Champagne* and thence to *Lorrain*, where he was receiv'd with Extraordinary Honour by Duke *Charles*; *Gaston* pretended that his Mother's usage of him with respect to his Marriage was the occasion of his Discontent. Tho' it was plain enough, that he was far from taking the loss of the Princess *Mary of Mantua* to Heart, for he had not been a Week at *Nancy* before he shou'd himself Amorous of the Duke of *Lorrain's*

Lorrain's second Sister, the Princess Margaret; Monsieur, however, made terrible Complaints of the Arrogance of the Ministry supported by the Queen his Mother, and Richlieu could not awaken the King's Jealousy of him, by saying, now that he was the best beloved Son; Gaston declar'd openly against the Cardinal, whom he call'd his profess'd Enemy. But Richlieu's Successes in Italy and Languedoc had so encreas'd his Credit with the King and Kingdom, that Monsieur's Complaints made no great Impression. The Letter he wrote to the King from Nancy was in very strong Terms, and had this Expression among the rest, that he cou'd not endure a New Mayor of the Palace, that usurp'd all the Sovereign Authority.

Lewis, who of himself lov'd to be Quiet, and to live well with his Family and People, was for an Accommodation, but Richlieu representing Monsieur's Demands as too Exorbitant, prevented it, and the Cardinal triumphing over all his Enemies, saw the Princes and great Lords cringing and bowing to him as to a Master; many of 'em attending in his Hall and being often dismiss'd without Audience. The Prince of Conde who wanted to be meddling with Business again, and found there was no other Canal to it, wrote the basest and most flattering Letter that one can meet with to his Enemy; wherein are these shameful Expressions from the first Prince of the Blood to an Imperious Priest. After having enumerated the Cardinal's glorious Actions at Rochelle, in Italy, and Languedoc: He added, *Those Heroick Acts are so wonderful, that the King without Flattery may be call'd the greatest King that ever was, and yourself the most Wise, most Prudent, most Discerning Minister that ever serv'd France; every Body Loves you, and is oblig'd to you by the general Knowledge of your Service to the Publick; but I who am entirely in the Interest of the King and the State, to which I shall live and dye wholly devoted; I look upon my self bound as your Servant to testify to you these Sentiments of my Joy.* There is so much Fustian in the Original that

that it has not suffer'd in the Translation, and we may see by it what was the Spirit of the French under so Tyrannical a Minister. The Duke de Montmerency who was unquestionably a Lord of the most Ancient Family in France, and was call'd the first Christian Baron, who had a Soul in some things equal to his Birth, in his Submissions to the Cardinal, betray'd its Native greatness. He not only paid him slavish Compliments in *Languedoc*, of which he was Governor, but assisted him to oppress the States of the Province who had preserv'd their Liberty till then, as it was under their Ancient Sovereign the Count de Tholouse. In the room of these States, Richlieu was for establishing an Assembly of Twenty Four *Elects*, who being nam'd by the Court, or the Governor of the Province, might have the Form of Authority without the Power. The Duke de Montmerency was so well belov'd in his Government, that had he supported the Liberty of his Province, the Cardinal durst not have invaded it, but instead of that he solicited each Member of the Assembly to Vote for the *Elects*. Generous and Brave was the Answer of the Gentleman who appear'd there for the Count de Clermont Lodove, when the Duke ask'd his Vote of him. Sir, said he, If we were Guilty of High Treason the King wou'd be content with Punishing us, and wou'd not oblige us to sign the Sentence of our Condemnation. Wou'd you have us give our Successors such an ill Opinion of us, that instead of Defending and Maintaining what our Ancestors left us that was most Dear, We shou'd our selves be the Judges and Witnesses for our own Destruction. The Assembly wou'd not consent to the Abolishing the States and Establishing the *Elects*; so Richlieu sent a Sergeant to command them to Seperate after having verif'y'd a Peremptory Edict for erecting Twenty Four *Elects* in that Province. Montmerency paid dearly afterwards for his dishonourable Compliance with the Cardinal, he came to Court, and Richlieu's Emisaries gave out he was in Love with the Queen Anne of Austria, but the Queen Mother

to satisfy'd the King that the Report was a Fiction, that his Jealousy had not the ill effects which were intended.

While the Cardinal was at *Montauban*, another powerful Lord, the Duke d' *Epernon*, render'd him a Visit at the Importunity of his Friends, for d' *Epernon's* Proud Heart had much a do to stoop to that Proud Priest's insufferable Arrogance; however, he submitted to the Cardinal's Ambition, and went out of his way to pay him Homage; yet did it with so much Repugnance, that his Compliments were rather so many Affronts, and his Friends were vex'd that they had oblig'd him to do a Thing he was so averse to. The Duke d' *Epernon* had a Quarrel with *Sourdis* Arch Bishop of *Bourdeaux* a great Favourite of *Richlieu's*; the Arch-Bishop being then with him at *Montauban*, *Richlieu* endeavour'd to reconcile them; after Dinner the Cardinal presenting *Sourdis* to the Duke, said, Sir, *Tou see Monsieur de Bourdeaux, he is very willing to be your Servant, pray for my Sake be Friends with him.* D' *Epernon* reply'd haughtily, and turning but side-ways to him, Sir, *Monsieur de Bourdeaux and I know one another very well,* he then saluted him very negligently, and continu'd his Discourse with the Duke de *Montmerency*. Sometime after another offer at a Reconciliation being made, *Sourdis* protested he honour'd him as his Father. You are in the right, says the Duke with a Malicious Smile, there may be something in it. The Arch-Bishop's Mother was it seems a Lady of Gallantry, and the Duke d' *Epernon* was thought to have been one of her happy Lovers. *Richlieu* was highly offended at the Duke's high Tone and Airs, both at *Montauban* and the Court, when they both met there and advis'd him to use a little more Complacency, insisting at the close of what he said, D' *Epernon*, *Gascon, Brogue and Mien*, which he never left to his Death. The Cardinal took care, however, to make use of civil and obliging Expressions, Excuse, Sir, says he, the Liberty I take in being so Familiar with you. Why should I be angry that you

you mimick me, says d' Epernon, Marais mimicks me every Day before you, and you see I hear it. *Marais* was the King's Fool, and the Satyr of it was very biting.

These Particularities of so great Men, cannot but be entertaining, besides, they serve more than the Publick ones to set their Characters in their True Light, which is the main end of *Anecdotes*. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, d' Epernon's Son, was more Courtly than his Father, and flatter'd him as much as the other shockt him. The Duke was ashamed of the Meanness of his Son's Temper, and us'd to call him not the Cardinal *de la Valette*, but *the Cardinal-Pole*, a Pun that has a very Satyrical Effect in the French Language.

We have seen the beginnings of those Differences between *Richlieu* and *Mary de Medicis*, that drove the latter out of France. They broke out violently on the Cardinal's Return from his Expedition to Italy and *Languedoc*. His Mock Triumphs made him so vain, that he cou'd not bear any the least Mortification, not even from his Mistress, to whom he was indebted for that Power, which he so Arbitrarily exercis'd. When he came first to *Fontainebleau*, after that Expedition, accompany'd by the Cardinals *de la Valette* and *Berulle*, the Dukes *de Longueville*, *de Chevreuse*, and *de Montbazon*, the Counts *de St. Pol*, and *de la Rochefaucault*; in a word, by almost the whole Court, he alighted at the Queen Mother's Apartment; she receiv'd him very coldly, asking him only *How he did?* The Cardinal knit his Brows, and his Lips trembling, as they did always when he was in a Passion, said, *I am better than abundance of People here wish me to be.* The Queen Mother blush'd, and strove to bring him into a good Humour: It happen'd, that while they were talking, Cardinal *de Berulle* enter'd in a Coat, *à la Cavalier*, without his Cardinal's Robe, which made the Queen smile. *Richlieu* coming up to *Mary de Medicis*, said, *I wish I was as much in your good Graces, as the Man you laugh at.* She excus'd her Smiling, but the Cardinal was so Cholerick, that she

she told him at last, *He was insupportable*. The King coming in, he went to him, and pray'd him to go into the Closet, designing to prepossess his Majesty against his Mother. But he was so Passionate, that the King did not like it. He upbraided him with his late Services, and threaten'd to retire. The Queen afterwards told her Story: The Cardinal's Insolence was condemn'd; *Richlieu* wrote her Majesty a Letter, carry'd it himself to beg her Pardon, and did it with Tears in his Eyes. His Neice *Combalet*, his Kinsman *Meilleraie*, and all his Creatures being packing up to be gone. But this seeming Sorrow so mollify'd the Queen, that all was forgot, and they were good Friends again. The Cardinal, absolute Master of the King's Will, cou'd not long keep his Temper: 'Twas not above a Week after, that he intreated her, in Presence of the Queen her Daughter-in-Law, to order the Payment of the Viscount *de Sardigni's* Pension. *I have stop'd it*, reply'd the Queen Mother, *upon your complaining of him to me; if you are satisfy'd, I am, and his Pension may be paid him. You might have done it of your self*, says *Richlieu*, *as you gave an Abbey to Vaultier your Physician, of your own Head, and without consulting me*. This Insolent Answer provok'd her, and she told him, 'Twas very strange he shou'd pretend to be Master of every thing that was in her disposal. *I have consulted you concerning my Recompences to my Servants when I thought fit. You are mistaken, if you think that I will be your Slave, and will not dispose of my own*. The next Day she sent him a Letter, by which she discharg'd him of his Office of Great Master of her Household. The Cardinal shew'd it to the King, and protested he cou'd not quit it without quitting the Court, where he cou'd not stay with the Disgrace of being turn'd off by his Mistress. The King promis'd to interceed for him, and accordingly spoke to his Mother, who assur'd his Majesty she had no intent to deprive the State of the Cardinal's Services, if he thought him Serviceable. *I only demand*, says she, *that you will permit me to turn him out of my House, that I may not be oblig'd to have*

have any thing to do with him, but in your Council, and in your Presence. The King blam'd the Cardinal, and seem'd a little inclinable to go farther, but Richlieu left nothing unattempted, not sparing even Religion it self to support himself, or the good Genius of France had banish'd him to that Repose, which he banish'd from the Royal Family, from France, and all Europe. There was now a Powerful Party form'd against him, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Duke of Savoy's Emissaries were of it, and the Queen Consort, Anne of Austria, Mother of Lewis the XIVth, joyn'd with them. She was afraid the Cardinal wou'd Poison her, and marry the King to Conbalet, her Neice. Mary de Medicis did not know her own Strength. With such Seconds had she absolutely insisted on his Removal, her Son Lewis it is thought, was enough out of Humour to have comply'd with her. But her Thoughts were wholly taken up with the means of procuring Satisfaction to her Son Gaston in his Demands; and to engage Richlieu, she consented to his Patent, to be Prime Minister. He exercis'd the Functions before. As Cardinal he had the Precedence, but he wanted the Title, which made all the other Ministers rather his Servants than the King's. What he makes the King say of him, in the Preamble to his Patent, shews his wonderful Modesty, as in the following Paragraph. Considering your Eminent Qualities, that you have seconded our Wishes, and executed our Designs; That God has reserv'd for our Reign the Extirpation of Heresy and Rebellion, by your Care, by your Valour, by your Magnanimity. In fine, that by your Prudence, the Affairs of Italy have had the happy Success with which God has bless'd our Arms. We ought not to chuse any other Person to be admitted to the Participation of our important Affairs, till we had preferably to all given you the Rank due to your Quality and Vertues. The Cardinal de Bérulle dying suddenly about this Time, November 1629, Richlieu, who was Jealous of his Interest in Mary de Medicis, was charg'd with his Death by Poison. No less a Man than the Duke of Orleans, confirms this Charge, when he tells

his Brother in a Letter he wrote him, *The Cardinal de Bernille did me good Offices in reconciling me to my Mother, but they were fatal to him, for he dy'd soon after.* Such was the Character of the Minister that laid the Foundation of extirpating the TRUE RELIGION and LIBERTY in France. Popery and Arbitrary Power are there founded upon Treason and Murder; And will the Just GOD suffer a Fabrick so built, to be lasting?

The Duke *de Never* succeeding to the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and being refus'd the Investiture of all the Territories belonging to it by the Emperor, implor'd the Protection of France. *Richlieu*, who let no Opportunity slip to weaken the House of *Austria*, was for sending a Powerful Army to *Italy* to protect him. The King wou'd needs go in Person to acquire new Glory, and the Cardinal, to whom it wou'd all redound, was also to honour it with his Presence. The Levies that were made of Men and Money, by *Richlieu's* Councils, render'd him necessary at that Juncture, and the Queen Mother seeing she was not able to remove him, labour'd a Reconciliation between *Lewis* and *Gaston*, which *Richlieu* the more passionately desir'd, for that nothing cou'd so much facilitate his Success in *Italy*. *Lewis* offer'd his Brother the Dutchy of *Valois*, and a 100000 Livres Pension, the Government of *Orleans*, *Blois*, *Vendome*, *Chartres*, and the Castle of *Amboise*. The *Mareschal de Marillac* was sent with these Offers to *Nancy*, and this Negotiation made *Richlieu* his irreconcilable Enemy. *Marillac* ow'd his Advancement to the Cardinal, but *Mary de Medicis* had gain'd him, and instead of assuring Monsieur, as he was order'd, what an Affection the King had for him, and how much *Richlieu* was his Servant, the *Mareschal* exaggerated the Cardinal's Power over his Master, enumerated the Places of Strength he had at his Disposal, enlarg'd upon his Magnificence and the Extravagance of the King's Bounty to him, which exasperated *Gaston* the more against him; and when, in discharge of the Commission, he receiv'd, *Marillac*, told the Duke of *Orleans*, that *Richlieu* desir'd

desir'd his Favour, Monsieur asking if he wou'd answer for his Sincerity, the Marechal reply'd *No*, and rais'd such Distrust in the young Prince's Mind, that *Gaston* wou'd not return to Court while the Cardinal was on this side the Mountains. He departed in September, honour'd with a New Title, that of *Generalissimo* of the King's Armies, with the Dignity and Power of Constable. His Majesty was dissuaded from accompanying him, and the Cardinal was desirous to have all the Fatigue of an Expedition which cou'd not fail of ending in a Triumph. *Lewis* staid behind at *Paris*, till *Richlieu* had made some Progress, and while he was treating with the Duke of *Savoy* for Passage for his Troops, and Provisions, he surpriz'd *Pignerol* the Barrier of *Piedmont*: A Conquest he was extremely proud of, and wou'd never part with. When the Cardinal arriv'd in *Italy*, there was immediately set a Foot a Treaty of Peace, by the Mediation of the Pope, who employ'd the Famous *Mazarine* in it, tho' rather as a Courier, than as an Negotiator; he was continually going to and fro with Messages and Projects of Accommodation, between *Richlieu* and the Imperial and Spanish Generals. He acquir'd the good Graces of *Spinola*, Governor of *Milan*, of the Duke of *Savoy*, and especially of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who had several private Conferences with him, and finding him of an Intriguing, Tricking Genius resembling his own, took such a liking to him, that He did his utmost to gain him over entirely to the Interest of *France*, which was not long a doing. *Mazarine* saw the Ground he had got in the Cardinal's Favour, and knowing him to govern Absolutely the Affairs of so mighty a Kingdom, he judg'd wisely, that giving himself up to him, he shou'd share with him in that Government, while he was Living, and perhaps succeed him when Dead.

These Negotiations of Peace in the Year 1630, for putting an end to the War of *Mantua*, were the Beginnings of *Mazarine's* Fortune, which was no less Prodigious than his Predecessor *Richlieu's*. 'Twas well for the Cardinal, that this War broke

out, and that he had rais'd his Reputation by the Conquest of *Pignerol*. The Party form'd against him increas'd daily: The Duke of *Guise*, who was Governor of *Provence*, pretended, that in Right of his Office, he was Admiral of the *Levant*, which the Cardinal assum'd to himself, as *Great Master and Superintendant of Trade and Navigation*. *Guise* knowing he was not a Match for him, offer'd to be his Lieutenant General in the *Mediterranean*, or to resign his Pretensions to him, if he wou'd accept of 'em as a Present, or to make an Exchange with him. The Cardinal, who hated the House of *Guise*, rejected his Offers, saying haughtily, *He knew how to make good his Claim*. *Guise* fearing he had Designs against his Government also, to support himself and be reveng'd of him, fell in with his Enemies, and his Interest gave great Weight to that Cabal. The Princess of *Conti*, the Dutchess d' *Elbeuf*, and other Ladies, incessantly set *Mary de Medicis* against the Cardinal, and excited her to punish her Proud and Ungrateful Domestick. These Intrigues were not unknown to the Minister and his Master, and both were enough embarrass'd by them. The Queen Mother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the greatest Houses of *France*, were engag'd in them; and had not the Juncture been favourable to *Richlieu*, rendring his Councils absolutely necessary, or had the Party prosecuted their Designs with more Vigour and Union, the future Tyranny of the Cardinal and his Successor, might probably have been prevented. The way he took to raise Money for his Wars, render'd him still more Odious, and the Parliament of *Paris* secretly offer'd the Duke of *Orleans* to declare in his Favour, if he wou'd demand the abolishing some Pecuniary Edicts, which turn'd more to the Minister's Profit, than to the King's.

Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, *Lewis* left *Paris* in *February*, to repair to *Lyons*; the Two Queens were to follow him, and the same Day, as had been before concerted, the Duke of *Orleans* came Post to the *Louvre*, and went directly to the Queen Mother's Chamber, where a Circle was then Assembled.

bled. She seem'd to be in great Confusion, dismiss'd her Ladies, and shut herself up in her Closet with *Gaston*. The Farce of his Amour with the Princess, *Mary of Mantua*, was continu'd: He immediately went from his Mother to his Mistress, then living with the Countess of *St. Poll*. *Mary de Medicis* affected to resent his Courtship, so much against her Opinion, and took the Princess again to the *Louvre*, *Gaston* made mighty Complaints of this Cruelty, and appear'd to be more discontented than ever with the Queen his Mother, and the Minister. He so little dissimbled his Chagrin towards *Richlieu*, that Cardinal *de la Valette* coming to Salute him, accompany'd by the New Cardinal of *Lyon*, *Richlieu's* Elder Brother, he receiv'd *la Valette* with extraordinary Marks of Distinction, and left the other in his Anti-Chamber, without taking the least Notice of him, tho' Cardinal *la Valette* beg'd him again and again to shew some deference to the Brother of the Prime Minister. *Lewis* was at *Nogent* on the *Seine*, when he receiv'd a Letter from his Mother with Advice of *Gaston's* Return. *Mary de Medicis* set forth in lively Terms the Court that was made to her youngest Son, and the Danger there was in letting him remain unsatisfy'd, giving it as her Sentiments, that the best way to appease him, wou'd be to give him the Command of the Army in *Champagne*, and to make him Lieutenant General of *Paris*, and some Neighbouring Provinces, during the King's Absence. *Lewis* frighten'd at this News, returns in haste to *Fontainebleau*, and *Gaston* withdrew to his Dutchy of *Orleans*. *Mary de Medicis* sent some Troops after him, under pretence of observing him. *Gaston* complain'd of this, and his Mother mediating between both her Sons, brought them into such Temper, that *Lewis* gave *Gaston* what she desir'd, and *Gaston* made his Submission to the King at *Troies*, who receiv'd him with all outward Tokens of Affection. *Lewis* was naturally a Prince of a good Temper, but an Easiness was a Branch of it; we have seen, and shall see, how unhappy tis for a Nation to have a good Temper'd Sovereign, and an ill

Temper'd Minister. The Sovereign's Virtues are all lost in the Vices of the Favourite, and whether a King's Temper be good or bad, 'tis all one to the People, if he has not Resolution enough to be his own Master, and lets his Ministers do what they please both with himself and his Subjects.

The King being arriv'd at *Lyons*, the Two Queens follow'd him thither, and the Cardinal coming from *Savoy*, was receiv'd with new Marks of Honour, *Mary de Medicis* herself shewing him particular Respect. That Princess condescended so far, hoping to get him to put an end to the War, which had involv'd *Savoy* in it, and consequently might be prejudicial to her Daughter the Princess of *Piedmont*. *Richlieu* laid the Blame on the Pope's Nuntio's Partiality to *Spain* in his Mediation, and promis'd to forward a Peace as much as lay in his Power. Promises cost such Ministers nothing. *Mary de Medicis* cou'd not hope to succeed in her Designs against the Cardinal, while he was at the Head of an Army, and had lately added a considerable Conquest to *France*, and *Richlieu* durst not further offend her Majesty, by taking on himself the Blame of a War, which he knew was not pleasing to her. While *Lewis* was at *Lyons*, he discover'd himself not to be insensible of the Charms of Beauty; he admir'd the Merit of *Madamoiselle de Fayette*; but he was a Platonick Lover, and whatever Lady he prais'd, her Reputation was safe; for whether 'twas his Virtue or Impotence all Women with respect to him were, as he said himself, *Chaste below the Girdle*.

His Majesty's Genius for War and Love was much a like, but *Richlieu* endeavour'd to cultivate the former, his Safety consisting in the necessity the State had of him during those Foreign Broils, of which he himself was the occasion. He therefore prevail'd with *Lewis* to cross the Mountains in Person, and instead of making Peace, to make an entire Conquest of *Savoy*. This was effected in few Days by a Royal Army, against which the few Troops the Duke of *Savoy* had in the Field, cou'd not make

make Head. The defenceless Cities open'd their Gates to Lewis. Chamberi, Annecy and the Principal Towns did not resist him a Day. Richlieu, to make his Master in Love with War, was continually crying up the Glory and Advantages of those Conquests, and taking him to a Window, when he had order'd three Pitiful Places to be attack'd at once, he said to him, See, Sir, with a glance of your Eye, what never Prince had the Pleasure of seeing before; see the Smoak of your Cannon before Three several Cities, Charbonieres, Leville and Montmelian. The latter indeed was no Pitiful Place, if the Citadel be included, but as the King and his Generalissimo made themselves Masters of the Town alone, the Conquest of it was no more Glorious than that of Leville and Charbonieres. The Queen Mother, enrag'd to see the Duke of Savoy dispossest'd of his Dominions, pretended to be mightily concern'd for the King her Son's Health, and dispatch'd the Marquis de Bertinghen to him, to pray him to return to Lyons, affecting so great a desire to see him, that he cou'd not refuse complying with her. But she cou'd not keep him when she had him there, his Impatience to return to the Army was too strong for her Reasons to hinder it; and being spirited by Richlieu's Exaggerations of his Military Glory he was fir'd in the pursuit of Victories so easily obtain'd, as those must be that were never fought for. His returning to Savoy, gave a Handle to the Queen Mother to exclaim against the Cardinal, for that Country was very sickly, and 'twas against the Advice of his Physicians that Lewis past the Alps. In short, he was taken so ill that he said himself he shou'd dye if he stay'd there. The Plague had seiz'd the Villages thro' which he was to repass, in somuch, that he was forc'd to lye in the Fields, after he had past Argemine where his Hostess fell ill of the Distemper the very Night he lay in her House. This Danger gave a colour to the Clamour rais'd by Mary de Medicis at Richlieu's putting him upon the Journey; the Cardinal got a Certificate from

the *Premier Physician*, that the King's Sickness was not occasion'd by the Journey and Air of *Savoy*. This Certificate was not enough to satisfy the People, prepossess'd by the Complaints of him made by the Queen Mother and the Court Ladies. What added to his Chagrin was that *Mantua*, the Defence of which for the Duke *Nevers*, its new Sovereign, was the occasion of the War, was taken and Sack'd by the *Germans*. The value of all his pretended Conquests, except the Surprisal of *Pignerol*, sunk to nothing, and the Intrigues form'd against him at the Court, oblig'd him to return also thither. The Two Queens who did not agree in any thing else, agreed in the Design to ruin *Richlieu*; the *Spanish Ambassador*, the Dukes *de Guise* and *Bellegarde*, the Princess of *Conti*, the Dutchesse *d'Elbeuf*, and *d'Ornano*, the Countess *du Fargis*, Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Queen *Anne of Austria*, and several others were of the Plot. The Duke *de Guise*, disgusted at the Cardinal's depriving him of his Office of Admiral of the *Levant*, did his utmost to render him Odious. The Duke went so far as to order an Officer he sent to *Provence*, to be insulted, and imprison'd. The Keeper of the Seals, *Marillac*, was the most zealous of the Conspirators against *Richlieu*, tho he dissembl'd it as much as he cou'd. The Cardinal had his Spies every where, and discover'd the Conspiracy form'd to ruin him, complain'd of it to the King, who endeavour'd to recover him out of his Fright, by assuring him of his Protection against all Persons whatsoever; which was not, however, such a security as *Richlieu* desir'd, knowing, as he did, how easily *Lewis* was turn'd from any Resolutions he had taken; and the Affairs of *Italy* pressing him so, that he was forc'd to conclude a Suspension of Arms, and the King falling again Sick at *Lyons*, never was there a more favourable Conjunction to deliver *France* from his Tyranny than that in 1630.

On the 22d of September, *Lewis* fell Sick of a Fever at *Lyons*, and his Distemper so encreas'd
upon

upon him, that he took the Viaticum, and they talk'd of giving him the Extream Unction. The Two Queens were, in Appearance, over-whelm'd with Sorrow, but at the bottom, their Thoughts were taken up with quite other things than the danger the King's Life was in. *Mary de Medicis* was meditating how to maintain her Authority under the Duke of *Orleans*, and to banish *Richlieu* from Court. *Lewis* recommended *Richlieu* to his Brother, and advis'd him to employ him as a most able and experienc'd Minister; but the Cardinal knowing the ill Offices he had done the Duke of *Orleans*, was contriving rather how to defend himself against his Revenge than how to continue in his Employments.

The Keeper of the Seals and his Brother, the Marechal *de Marillac*, coming to *Lyons*, earnestly press'd the Queen Mother, to take hold of that Opportunity, and turn *Richlieu* out of the Ministry; her prime Physitian, *Vautier*, who study'd *Machiavel* more than *Hypocrates*, the Princess of *Conti*, the Dutcheß *d' Elbeuf*, the Countess *de Fargis*, and all that were in the Intrigue did the same, and 'tis said some of them were for having him kill'd. The Queen *Anne* of *Austria* who did not care to be sent back to *Spain*, nor shut up in a Convent, was perswaded by her Favourite the Countess *de Fargis*, to cause the Proposal to be made to *Gaston*, that he shou'd marry her, in case his Brother *Lewis* dy'd. The Proposal was made as from the Countess, but the Duke of *Orleans* judg'd very rightly she durst not do it without that Princess's Participation and Consent, so he return'd a very civil and obliging Answer. *Lewis*, when he recover'd, was inform'd of this forward Step of his Consort and Brother, and *Richlieu* did not fail so to improve it to their disadvantage, that the King never doubted but there was all along afterwards a Plot between them against him. *Gaston* stay'd at *Paris*, and expected with Impatientec to hear the News of his Brother's Death; the Astrologers had assur'd him so positively, that *Lewis* wou'd dye

dye within the Year, that neither he nor his Confidants made any question of it, when they heard he was taken ill of a Fever at *Lyons*. The Cardinal, well inform'd of the Designs carrying on to ruin him, pitch'd upon *Avignon* as a Place of Retreat, and sent away thither his Money, Plate, and movable Treasure. He wrote to the Prince of *Conde* and desir'd his Protection, proposing a sort of League against the Queen Mother their common Enemy, who wou'd Govern all Things more Arbitrarily under *Gaston*, than she had done under *Lewis*. He also engag'd St. *Simon*, the King's Favourite, to speak to his Majesty to recommend him to the Protection of the Duke de *Montmerency*, for that the hatred his Enemies bore him was only for his Zeal and Fidelity in his Service. The King did it in pressing Terms, and the Duke promis'd to defend the Cardinal against them all, and convoy him safe to *Marseilles*. La *Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, in the room of *Herbaut*, lately dead, provided Post Horses and Chaises on the Road from *Lyons* to *Marseilles*, for *Riehlieu's* use if the King dy'd. The Cardinal, naturally Timorous and Weak; cry'd incessantly; but the Assurances given him by the Duke de *Montmerency* that he wou'd receive him in his Government of *Languedoc*, gave him some Comfort. The King's Recovery dissipated all his Fears, and he apply'd himself with great Assiduity to be reconcil'd to *Mary de Medicis*. In order to this, he courted the *Marillacs*, he got a Gratification of 100000 Crowns for the Mareschal, and the Command of the Troops that were sent to reinforce the Army in *Italy*. But neither *Mary de Medicis* nor the *Marillacs* were gain'd by his Advances, the Queen Mother was perpetually complaining of him to the King, and at last having tir'd him out with her Complaints, he promis'd to remove him as soon as the War of *Italy* was over, which is thought to have been done by Collusion between him and his Minister.

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In the mean time a Negotiation of Peace commenced in *Italy*, and was carry'd on by *Mazarine*, who manag'd matters so well between Parties, that it was concluded to the good liking of both. But the *French* breaking some of the Articles, the *Spaniards* had fall'n upon them and destroy'd them, had it not been for *Mazarine* then the Pope's Minister, but gain'd over by *Richlieu* to the *French* Interest. The *Mareschal de Marillac* was on the other side of *Alps* at the Castle of *Fouys*, together with the *Mareschals de la Force* and *Schemberg*, when he heard the joyful News of the Disgrace of the Cardinal; the same Courier brought him a Letter from the King, giving him the Command of the Army, with Orders to the Two other *Mareschals* to return to *France*; *Marillac* went immediately to *Schomberg*, who was *Richlieu's* Friend and Confident, and with an Air of Triumph, told him the News, little thinking that e're many Hours are past, that *Mareschal* shall triumph in his turn, and *Marillac* be his Prisoner. After the Affairs of *Italy* were accommodated, *Mary de Medicis* reviv'd her Instances to the King to perform his Promise to remove *Richlieu* from the Administration, and to suffer her to dismiss him her Service, together with all his Relations and Creatures. The *Marquis de Mirabel*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, made use of all his Address to animate the Two Queens in their Endeavours to ruin the Cardinal. For those that pretend Ambassadors have not us'd to concern themselves in the Changes that happen in Courts, to oppose the making Ministers of State, or turning them out when made, are not more acquainted with History than Politicks. The King making no great haste to part with *Richlieu*, after he return'd to *Paris*, and Peace was concluded in *Italy*, *Mary de Medicis* was resolv'd to begin herself with *Combalet*, the Cardinal's Neice, and all his Relations that were in her Service. The King hearing of it, desir'd his Mother to let *Richlieu* continue in the Ministry but Six Weeks longer, and he and *Combalet* to wait on her, and pay their Duty in the most Submis-

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five Manner, begging her earnestly to receive them favourably, at least in appearance. The King gave the Cardinal and his Niece Intimation that they shou'd wait on the Queen Mother at such an Hour, and that he wou'd leave them alone; Combalet came first, and threw herself at the Queen's Feet, giving her a Thousand Thanks for all her Favours to her; *Mary de Medicis* cou'd not command her Passion at the sight of a Woman she hated, but fell upon her in a most furious manner, upbraiding her with Ingratitude, and that in most harsh and shocking Terms. *Combalet*, who expected other sort of Reception, rose in the utmost Confusion, and *St. Simon* led her out of the Queen's Cabinet; *Lewis* entering it as she went out, and seeing her drown'd in Tears, reproach'd his Mother for receiving her as she had done, contrary to his earnest desire, *At least, Madam, says he, Speak more kindly to the Cardinal who is coming here. Richlieu* enter'd trembling, and *Mary de Medicis* spar'd him no more than she did his Niece, she call'd him Traytor and Ingrate, *Do you see that wicked Man there?* said she to the King, *He thinks of nothing less than to bring the Crown into his Family;* for that end he's contriving to marry his Neice with the Count de Soissons. *Lewis* cry'd out, *What do you say, Madam, your Anger carries you too far, Monsieur the Cardinal is an Honest Man, he serves me Faithfully, and I am very well satisfy'd with the Pains and Care he takes for the good of my Kingdom, your usage of him is such an Affliction to me, that I shall not recover my self.* He then did his utmost to appease her, but all in vain. In fine, his Majesty had the Cardinal withdraw, and when he was gone, us'd his endeavours to bring his Mother into a better Temper with him, conjuring her not to come to Extremities. When he left his Mother, he said to *St. Simon*, taking him by the Hand, *What thinkest thou of what thou hast seen and heard?* The Favourite reply'd, *I confess I thought my self in another World, but in short, you are Master.* Yes, Yes, says the King, *I am so.* This Spiriting Word of *St. Simon's*, at a time when *Lewis* wanted some body

to encourage him in standing by his Minister, did Richlieu more Service than all his Cunning and Management, the Cardinal did not doubt but his Ruin was resolv'd on, and accordingly prepar'd to retire to *Havre de Grace*; his Moveables and Riches were pack'd up, and every thing in readiness to be gone, when a Servant of *St. Simon* brought him Word, that Things were not in such a desperate Condition, and he wou'd soon send him better Tidings. When Lewis was got to his own Apartment, he flung himself upon his Bed, crying, *My Mother's Obstinacy will be the Death of me. She wou'd have me turn off a Minister that's so Faithful to me, and put my Affairs into the Hands of those that know not how to manage them. Her hatred to the Cardinal, continues he to St. Simon, Is so Prodigious, that she will not hearken to Reason. Give me something to Drink, I am so dry I don't know what to do with my self; tell me what wou'dst thou have me to do in this Case.* I doubt not, says the Favourite, your Majesty will protect the Cardinal against a Cabal that are so Invererate in setting you against him to make room for themselves; it will be easy for you to put a Stop to the Malice of those that are always suggesting Falsities to the Queen Mother, and that oppose a Ministry which is so advantageous to the Government of your Kingdom. Lewis then resolv'd to keep the Cardinal in spite of *Mary de Medicis*. To lessen the number of his Enemies, he endeavour'd to reconcile him to the Duke of Orleans, and in order to it, presented him to his Brother at his first coming to Paris, desiring him to look upon Richlieu as a good Servant to all the Royal Family, Gaston reply'd coldly, *I shall do so if Monsieur the Cardinal behaves himself to me as he ought.* Richlieu, who did not like so general an Answer, turn'd to Bassompierre then present, and said, *Monsieur complains of me, God knows why, but the weakest go to the Wall.* The Quarrel of *Mary de Medicis* with the Cardinal and Combalet was kept very Secret. The next Day, being the 10th of November, she renew'd her In-

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stances with her Son to discharge him, and the News of the Peace concluded in *Italy* coming at the same time, *Lewis* cou'd not help assuring her once more that he wou'd do what she desir'd. The Cardinal hearing his Majesty and his Mother were shut up sometime in a Closet together, doubted not but *Mary de Medicis* was trying her last efforts to take the Administration from him. He immediately went to the Queen's Apartment, the Doors of the Chamber and Anti chamber were shut, he enter'd the Gallery and scratch'd at the Door of the Closet, no Answer was made, impatient of staying, and knowing every Corner of the House, he went through a little Chappel, the Door of which the Queen had forgot to have lock'd, into the Closet where she was with the King, *Ah, Madam, here he is*, cry'd *Lewis*, who had just given Consent to his Disgrace; *I believe you are talking of me*, says *Richlieu*, percieving they were in a surprize, *No, no*, reply'd the Queen Mother, *Come, come, Madam, confess it*, said *Richlieu*. *Mary de Medicis* provok'd at the Impudence of her Domestick, answer'd, 'Tis True, and rail'd at him worse than ever, declaring she wou'd never see him more; such was the violence of her Passion that she forgot to put her Design in Execution, which was then to engage *Lewis* to command the Captain of his Guards to arrest *Richlieu*; however, she got the abovemention'd Order sent to the Marechal de *Marillac* to take on him the Command of the Army in *Italy*, which being done without the Cardinal's Knowledge, he doubted not of his Disgrace, and that the *Marillacs*, his Sworn Enemies, wou'd have the Management of all Things. Upon this he order'd his Baggage to set out for *Havre de Grace*, intending to follow himself in a few Hours after. 'Tis said there were 100 Baggs of *Spanish* Pistoles to the value of Four Millions of Livers loaden on his Mules. That the Cardinal believ'd himself to be utterly ruin'd, one may perceive by what he said to the Marechal de *Bassompierre*, *You will not matter a Man in Disgrace as I am*. The Marechal conducted

ducted him to the Queen Mother's Apartment the next Day, the 11th of November. He fell upon his Knees, and most humbly beg'd her Pardon in the King's Presence; but the Queen was inexorable, and wou'd not hear him. *Ay, Ay,* said she to those that interceded for him, and represented the Trouble he was in, *He can change Countenance as he pleases, let him be never so Gay and so Joyful, he'll alter of a sudden, and look as sad as if he was half Dead, when the State of his Affairs requires it.* It was now that *Richlieu* gave over all Thoughts of remaining at Court, and declar'd he wou'd be gone that very Day to *Pontoise*, in his way to *Havre de Grace*. A small Convoy went with his Baggage, and his People were afraid of entring any Town with it, least it shou'd be Plunder'd.

This very Day, the 11th of November, 1630, was the fatal Crisis of the Liberty of France: If the Cardinal de *La Valette*, the Counsellor of State *Charauneuf*, and the President *Le Jay*, had not dissuaded *Richlieu* from his purpose of retiring to *Havre de Grace*, he had been for ever banish'd the Court, and the Foundation of that Arbitrary Power, which he and his Successor *Mazarine* establish'd, had never been laid. *La Valette* representing to him the Inconstancy and Irresolution of *Lewis*, the Number and Importance of his Services, the Advantages his Absence wou'd give his Enemies, made him resolve to try his Power over the King, and to see him alone before he departed. *The beginning of a Disgrace is not the end of it,* says *La Valette*; *I'll go with you to Versailles, and willingly expose my self to the same Peril with you. I have vow'd you an Eternal Friendship; you shall find the Sincerity of my Vows in Adversity as well as in the Height of your Prosperity.* For these Generous Sentiments did *Richlieu* afterwards make the most ungrateful Returns, in cruelly persecuting his Friends, Father and Brother.

The Court, and all *Paris* believing the Cardinal's Credit lost past recovery, every one, according to Custom, turn'd their backs on him, and made their Court to *Mary de Medicis*. Couriers were dispatch'd

patch'd by the Foreign Ambassadors, to give their Masters the welcome News of *Richlieu's* Disgrace. *Charles the First*, King of *England*, hearing of it, said to his Queen *Henrietta Maria*, *The Queen your Mother is in the wrong; the Cardinal has done great Services for the King his Master. This Adventure puts me in mind of an Accusation intended against Scipio, to the People of Rome. He heard it out patiently, and instead of answering, cry'd out, I remember that on such a Day I defeated the Carthaginians, follow me, Romans, to the Capitol, to render Thanks to the Gods. If I had been in the Cardinal's Place, I shou'd have heard the Queen your Mother's Complaints, with the same Tranquility, and have only said to the King your Brother, Within these Two Years has Rochelle been taken, Thirty Five Hugonot Cities have been reduc'd and raz'd; Casal has been twice reliev'd; Savoy, and a great part of Piedmont Conquer'd. These Advantages, Sir, which your Arms have acquir'd by my Care, answer for my Application and my Fidelity.* His *Britannick Majesty* was, it seems, mightily concern'd for the Disgrace of a Minister who had gone so far in setting up a Despotick Government in *France*. Was there any Similitude of Tempers in the Two Courts? Had their Ministers the same Inclinations, and was there only want of Genius in the one not to succeed so well as the other in the Destruction of the Liberties of their Country? Amidst all these Difficulties and Dangers, the ill Fate of *France* will preserve *Richlieu*, and bring him off Triumphant. The Queen Mother, instead of following her Son to *Versailles*, of observing all his Motions, and hindring the Cardinal's approaching him, stay'd at *Paris* to receive the Applauses of the Courtiers, who crowd'd to pay their Homage to her. The Duke d' *Epernon* was one of the First of them, while his Son the Cardinal de la *Kalette*, was labouring with *Richlieu* to prevent his departure. All this while did *Sr. Simon* insinuate to the King, that the Loss of such a Minister as *Richlieu*, would put his Majesty wholly in the Power of the Queen his Mother and her Creatures. Is not *Lewis* the Just

at Thirty Years able to Reign without Guardians? When for God's sake, are the Most Christian King^s out of their Minority? Did not the King promise his Mother to turn off *Richlieu*; and is it a necessary Consequence that he must be Govern'd by *Mary de Medicis*, if he is not Govern'd by the Cardinal *de Richlieu*? It was under this Prince that the *French* Empire became Absolute. This Prince, who had not the Command of himself, made Slaves of a Free Nation, as sam'd in Ancient Times for Asserting their Liberties, as they have been Infamous since for their Love of Slavery. It aggravates their Infamy, that they shou'd give up their Rights to a King, who had not of himself the Courage to take them. Indeed, those Princes who are directed wholly by their Minions and Ministers, are seldom the True Fathers of their People. Ministers and Minions have no Interest but their own to promote; their Business is to make their own their Masters, tho' certainly the Interests of Princes and of ill Ministers are incompatible; and ill Ministers will always Govern under weak Princes. *St. Simon*, having given the Cardinal Notice that all things went well, and that he shou'd fear nothing, *Richlieu* resolv'd to follow the Advice of *la Valette*, and go to *Versailles*. *La Valette* went first to *Lewis*, to see what Disposition he was in: *Monsieur Cardinal*, says the King, *I believe you are surpriz'd at what has happen'd; More than your Majesty imagines*, reply'd *La Valette*. *Monsieur de Richlieu has a good Master*, says *Lewis*, *go and bid him come to me immediately*. The Cardinal *de la Valette* told him, that *Richlieu* was come to throw himself at his Majesty's Feet, and then went out to bring him in. *St. Simon*, the King's Favourite, the Marquis *de Mortemare*, and the Marquis *de Beringhen*, were with his Majesty when the Cardinal *de la Valette* presented his Brother *Richlieu* to him. *Richlieu* embrac'd his Majesty's Knees, thanking him for this extraordinary Favour granted him by the best Master in the World. And *I*, said *Lewis*, *have in you the most Faithful and most Affectionate Servant that can be*. I think my self
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the more oblig'd to protect you, in as much as I have been a Witness of your Respect and Gratitude to the Queen my Mother. I shou'd have abandon'd you if you had not shewn how justly sensible you were of her Favours: Depend upon my Protection, I know how to break the Cabal that are your Enemies. They impose upon the Credulity of the Queen my Mother, who is easily led away by them, Continue to serve me well; and I will defend you against all those that have vow'd your Destruction. The Cardinal, who cou'd weep when he wou'd, burst out into Tears, fell a second time on his Knees, conjur'd him to excuse his accepting so great a Mark of his Royal Goodness as still to continue to make use of his Councils. He added, *In the Name of God, Sir, let me not be the Innocent Occasion of the misunderstanding which my Abode near your Majesty may cause between you and the Queen Mother; suffer me to bury my self in some profound Solitude, to deplore my Misfortune in being thought Ungrateful by a Queen who has overwhelm'd me with Benefits.* He embrac'd the King's Knees more tenderly than before, and then rose with the Secret Joy to find his Master was resolv'd not to part with him, as he declar'd to all present. The Cardinal continuing to desire him to let him retire from Business, seeing he shou'd be so much expos'd to the Dangerous Strokes of Malice and Envy, *'Tis not the Queen my Mother,* reply'd Lewis, *who raises this Storm against you, certain restless People are the main Causes of it. I know them, and how to punish them for their Crime. 'Tis enough that I am satisfy'd with you,* added he, raising his Voice, *Stay with me, and I'll protect you against all the World.* We shall presently see what was the Effect of this Interview. But to please his Mother, Richlieu was order'd to write a most Submissive Letter to *Mary de Medicis*, which he did; it was a very Polite Piece, well labour'd, and as full of Flattery and Falshood, as ever came from the Pen of a French Man, and a Priest.

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The next Day the Seals were taken from *Marillac*; he was advertis'd of the good Reception the Cardinal had met with, and foreseeing what wou'd happen, had taken care to remove all his Papers except one, which was unluckily the most Important, being an Account of the Publick Moneys that had been embezzl'd during *Richlieu's* Ministry; a Paper that the Mareschal his Brother, will e'er long pay dear for. The Cardinal not being able to charge the Keeper with any thing contrary to Justice or good Management, either as he was employ'd in the Finances, or as he had the Seals, was the more Vigorous in the Prosecution of the Mareschal, who lay more open, and on him reveng'd the Fatal Draft, intended to expose his Greediness and Avarice to *Lewis*. Such Ministers as *Richlieu*, who know they themselves deserve no Mercy, are always sure to shew none. Cruelty is ever one of the Characteristicks of an ill Ministry, and *Richlieu* distinguish'd himself as much by that Quality, as by any other. The *Exempt* of the Guards, who Arrested Monsieur *de Marillac*, had Orders to treat him roughly, and the latter falling ill of a Fever, as he was carrying him to *Lisieux*, the *Exempt* refus'd to let him stay one Night in a Country Village, as he desir'd to repose himself. In the room of the late Keeper was put *Charles de l'Aubespine*, famous for his Embassies, under the Names of the Abbe *de Preaux* and *de Chateauneuf*; a Creature of the Cardinal's *Le Jay*, was made First President of the Parliament of *Paris*. This Man has already been mention'd, as a Zealous Assertor of the Rights of that then Illustrious Assembly. *Richlieu* found means to make this Friend to Liberty his own Friend; *le Jay* and *Chateauneuf*, were the Two Men, who next to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, had the greatest Hand in perswading *Richlieu* not to fly for it, but to wait on the King at *Versailles*. Thus are they rewarded. Now is the Cardinal Triumphant, he has the King's Person at his Disposal, *Lewis* has none but his Confidants about him, and what can be the Effect of this Absolute Power, but Exiles, Imprisonments and Murders.

Murders. Revenge, the darling Passion of such Men, is as sweet as the Power that accomplishes it. There is nothing now to oppose this Ambitious, Arbitrary, and Cruel Minister; and the first Exiles we hear of, are out of the Royal Family, the King's only Brother and the Queen his Mother. No Rank, no Merit can protect those that are so unhappy as to fall under the Displeasure of Favourites. The more Conspicuous the Merit, the more Dangerous. The more Exalted the Quality, the more Glorious the Triumph.

The very next Day after the *Mareschal de Marillac* had receiv'd the News of the Cardinal's Disgrace, and the King's Letter in his Favour, arriv'd *L' Epine*, a Messenger, with an Order to the *Mareschals de la Force* and *de Schomberg*, to Arrest him also, which was executed. There happen'd nothing extraordinary on that Occasion, but that the Event is variously related by Two Officers of the Guards, *Messieurs de Puysegur* and *de Pontis*, who in their Memoirs differ so much, that it gives one almost an ill Opinion of *History* it self. Both of them being present, and both on Duty, as Guards to the Prisoner, the one writes that he receiv'd the Orders with the Temper of a Stoick, the other, that he fell out into the most Violent Passion, with several other Circumstances of the same contrary Nature, too particular for so General an *History*.

Richlieu having rid himself of the *Marillacs*, instigated his Master to banish the Countess *du Fargis*, the Queen Consort's Favourite, from Court, and to forbid the *Marquis de Mirabel*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, to come to the *Louvre* without demanding Audience. The Queen *Anne* of *Austria* was enrag'd at the Loss of so belov'd, and so faithful a Servant, and exclaim'd against the Cardinal, who did what he pleas'd, and matter'd not what either of the Two Queens thought of him. The Countess *du Fargis*, who was a Gallant Lady, had Two Lovers that suffer'd for her sake, the Count *de Cramail*, and the *Marquis de Beringhen*; the latter was banish'd the Kingdom, and the other remain'd in it purely

purely by the Protection of *Mary de Medicis*, whom *Richlieu* was loath to irritate too much. Having made himself so many Enemies, he apply'd to the Dukes of *Orleans's* Favourites, *Monsieur de Puylaurens*, and *Monsieur le Coigneux*, to procure the Friendship of their Master for him. The Duke of *Orleans* was a Prince of so inconstant a Disposition, that those about him durst hardly trust him out of their Sight, and cou'd easily turn him which way they pleas'd. The Cardinal, to gain his Confidants, had recourse to the shortest way and the surest, to bribe them plentifully. Tho' he was not Treasurer, the Treasure of *France* was at his Disposal, and whoever has the Treasure of a Nation to dispose, will not want Partisans. *Puylaurens* had 100000 Crowns given him, *Le Coigneux* the Promise of a Cardinal's Cap and a good Pension; *Monfigot*, the Duke of *Orleans's* Secretary, 50000 Crowns, and these his chief Servants prevail'd with him, not only to speak the Cardinal fair, but to promise to Love him as much as he had Hated him, and to bind it with an Oath, which Monsieur was ever very free of. Others of his Servants had Money given them, and 'twas a common saying, that, *Monsieur has been Sold to the Minister*, for a Million of Franks. 'Twas the Duke's great Fault that he over did it in every Thing, and he cou'd not be reconcil'd to *Richlieu*, without railing at the *Marillacs*: The Duke of *Lorraine*, having kept up a Body of Troops to oblige the *French* to do the same in *Campagne*, and thereby give a Diversion to their Arms in favour of the House of *Austria*. *Gaston*, now a Friend to *Richlieu*, Swore, *By God I know it very well. The Marechal de Marillac was the Cause of it, and made the Duke of Lorraine do what he did.* This Friendship was too hot to hold, as will appear by the following Pages.

The Cardinal, to encrease the number of his Friends as that of his Enemies encreas'd, obtain'd the Duke of *Vandome's* Liberty of the King, on Condition he left the Kingdom. Accordingly he went to *Holland* with the Duke de *Alençon* his

Eldest Son. The Cardinal Bagni was employ'd to mediate a Reconciliation between *Mary de Medicis* and *Richlieu*, but the former told the King, She would never see him, and would dye rather than consent to be Friends with him, You may do what you will, said he, I shall Honour you as long as I Live, but I have solemnly promis'd to stand by the Cardinal. She went farther in a Conference with *Bullion*, Counsellor of State, I'll rather be damn'd, says she, than not be reveng'd of that Ingrate. And yet by the Perswasion of *Paurier*, her Physician, who was gain'd by *Bagni*, she consented to a Visit from him, the 26th of December 1630. The Jesuit *Suffren* accompany'd *Richlieu*, who no sooner enter'd the Queen's Cabinet, than she burst out into Tears, the Jesuit and the Cardinal did the same; the Queen Mother order'd a Chair to be set for *Richlieu*, had him sit down, God forbid, reply'd the Hypocritical Prelate, that I should sit in your Majesty's Presence, having the Misfortune to lose your good Graces, so great a mark of Distinction does not belong to me; 'tis not for me to make use of the Permission you have been pleas'd to give me when I had the happiness not to displease you, but I have lost it; a disgrac'd Servant ought not to accept of the Honour you would do me. The Effect of this Interview was, the Queen assist'd at a Council held the next Day where *Richlieu* was present, and as base Minds are always puffed up by Success, the Cardinal grew so insolent upon it, that he told the King plainly, he could not be perfectly reconcil'd to his Mother, unless his Neice *Combalet*, and the rest of his Relations, whom she had discharg'd, were re-admitted into her Service. Tho' *Lewis* was disgusted at *Richlieu's* Arrogance, yet he could not help humouring him, and the Cardinal not doubting but he would justify him in it, sent the President *Le Jay* to *Mary de Medicis* with a threatening Message, that she should be confin'd to one of her Houses if she did not do what the Minister desir'd of her. *Mary de Medicis* complain'd of her being so insolently treated, *Lewis* disown'd his Minister,

Minister, and, with Tears in his Eyes, pretended he would never leave her, yet within a few Days does he part from her for ever.

In the mean while, *Richlieu*, jealous of the Duke of Orleans's two Favourites *Le Coigneux* and *Puy-laurens*, endeavour'd to divide, and then to destroy them. He first attempted *Puy-laurens*, promising him wonders if he would renounce his Friendship to *Le Coigneux* and devote himself to *Richlieu*. *Le Coigneux* heard of it, and made his Complaints to the Cardinal *de la Palatte* and the Mareschal *de Schombergh*, who assur'd him there was nothing in it, and that 'twas not likely the King would lose the 100000 Crowns that had been so lately given him; *Le Coigneux* presented to *Puy-laurens*, that there were Snares laid for them, and their safety depended on their Union. Both of them being satisfy'd of the necessity of it, they were more united than ever, and resolv'd to oblige their Master to a Rupture with the Court, or to secure themselves against the Power and Artifices of *Richlieu*. *Le Coigneux* remonstrated to *Gaston* that the Cardinal deceiv'd him, that he endeavour'd to debauch his Ministers, that his Mother's Credit sunk daily, and with it his own, for that it was inseperable from her Majesty's. *Richlieu* apprehending the Effect of *Le Coigneux*'s Resentment, declar'd plainly that the King expected he would quit the Duke of Orleans's Service, for *Lewis* did not think himself sure of his Brother's Friendship as long as he had Ministers about him, who had such an Influence over him. *Le Coigneux* found it necessary now to drive his Master to Extremities, and *Puy-laurens* join'd with him in advising *Gaston* to leave the Court, and insist upon Satisfaction in several points, wherein they said he was injur'd. *Gaston* pursuant to their Advice, takes Twelve Gentlemen with him, and goes to *Richlieu*, to whom he thus address'd himself; *I am come to discharge my self from the Promise I made you to be your Friend, and to tell you plainly I shall find a way to punish such a Man as you are, who has the Boldness and Malice to set all*

the Royal Family in a Flame; you owe your Fortune and Dignities to the Queen my Mother, and instead of the Gratitude of a good and faithful Servant, you are become the greatest of her Persecutors; you are always blackening her to the King, and are so far from carrying your self as you ought to me, your Insolence is greater than ever; I shou'd have chastis'd it e'er now had not your Priesthood hinder'd me, but know that your Character shall not hereafter defend you from the Punishment due to the Injuries and Affronts committed against a Person of my Rank. This Speech was accompany'd with all the outward Marks of Indignation and Revenge in both Gaston and his Attendants. The Cardinal was as one Thunder struck, trembled as if he had an Ague upon him, and hardly a word to say for himself. Very glad was he when he saw Gaston and his Followers fairly out of his House, and his Terrors were soon turn'd into sentiments of Vengeance. Gaston return'd the same Day, the 1st. of February 1631, to Orleans, and Richlieu sent an Expreſs to Versailles, to press the King to come to the Louvre. Lewis upon notice of his Brother's Retreat, hasten'd to Paris, alighted out of his Coach at the Cardinal's, and embracing him, said, Fear nothing, I will be your Second against all the World, not excepting my Brother, my Honour is concern'd; what ever they would do to you, I shall look upon as design'd against my self, and will be reveng'd for it. He then went to the Queen Mother, who protested she knew nothing of the Duke of Orleans's Retreat; whereas in Truth 'twas done in concert with her, and she had given him her Jewels to support him in case of Necessity.

The Cardinal was much given to Judicial Astrology, but Mary de Medicis and Gaston much more, all their Counsells were directed by it, and the Prediction of the Quack Duval, that Lewis shou'd dye shortly, was one of the main Inducements to the Duke of Orleans's leaving the Court. They did not doubt of a quick Revolution there, and thought all would be well if they cou'd but

secure

secure his Person till that happy time came. There
 was an Astrologer that did not Prophecy so well
 for them; he told *Mary de Medicis* plainly, that
 she shou'd be Unfortunate, and that all *Richlieu's*
 Designs shou'd succeed; which she telling to the
 Rector of the Convent of *Picpus* near *Paris*, the
 good Father exhorted her to a Reconciliation with
 the Cardinal, saying very gravely, That, *Madam*,
 is enough to perswade you to Honour Monsieur the
 Cardinal with your Favour. But tho' the Fryer built
 so much on that happy Answer for *Richlieu*, the
 Queen had another as unhappy, on which she built
 more. One of her Augurers had foretold her that
 she shou'd be as Powerful as ever she had been,
 before the end of the Year 1631. This Prophecy
 was to her mind, and she thought the Prophet the
 best skill'd of any of 'em; Well then, says she, all
 we have to do is to take care of our Health. Such
 was the happiness of France in the Reign of *Lewis*
 the First. There were two Interests incompatible with
 each other, and both so with that of France, in a per-
 petual Struggle, that of the Minister, and that of
 the Queen Mother, both guided by Fortune-tellers
 and Soothsayers; yet their Pretences were both
 for the Publick Good, than which nothing was more
 distant from their Hearts. *Mary de Medicis* in
 expectation that all France wou'd declare for *Gaston*
 in opposition to *Richlieu*, declar'd openly that she
 wou'd never cease pursuing the Cardinal till she
 had driven him from Court. She wou'd not assist
 at the Councils because he was present, and *Rich-*
lieu finding she was implacable, consulted with his
 trusty Confident the Capuchin *Joseph*, how to de-
 liver himself from the Troubles she perpetually gave
 him. They both agreed the most effectual way wou'd
 be to get the King to confine her at *Moulins*, or some
 other Place of such a distance from *Paris*. *Lewis's*
 Conscience was a little Scrupulous, and wanted the
 assistance of some Casuist to satisfy him that he might
 deal thus with his Mother without incurring the Sin
 of Disobedience. The Person *Richlieu* recommended
 to him to consult with on that occasion was the
 good

good Father Joseph himself, who being the Author of that bold Counsel, certainly knew best how to remove the King's Scruples. What most perplext Richlieu was how to bring the Matter about. The Parisians lov'd Mary de Medicis as much as they hated him. She drop'd some words that animated him in his Resolution to have her sent far enough off; I will follow the King every where, said she, and never give over demanding Justice of him against the Author of all the present Divisions in the Royal Family. This Richlieu heard of, and represented to Lewis, that there must be a Conspiracy against his Authority, or perhaps against his Person, which it would be easy for him to ruin, if he was at some distance from Paris. Lewis, in a fright, presently resolves on a Journey to Compeigne, under pretence of Hunting, and his Mother follow'd him contrary to the Advice of her Friends, to whom she reply'd, Had I follow'd the King to Versailles, the Cardinal had now been in a Prison, God forbid I shou'd commit such another over-sight. She never committed a greater than in quitting Paris, and putting herself into the Hands of her Enemy, who durst not have taken the step at the Louvre, which he took at Compeigne. When it was propos'd in Council to confine the Queen Mother at Moulins, Richlieu made a long Harangue, full of Artifices and Dissimulation, sometimes seeming to tremble at such an Expedient, sometimes representing it as of absolute Necessity. Here speaking of her in the most respectful Terms, and there aggravating every Thing that look'd amiss in her Conduct, but closing all with healing Advice, that all soft Methods shou'd first be us'd to bring the Queen Mother to Reason. Lewis presently consented to whatever was propos'd to him, and resolv'd to return to Paris without taking his leave of his Mother.

On the 22d of February, Orders were given to the Marechal d'Errees to set a Guard about the Castle where his Mother lay, and to press the Princess of Conti to depart immediately not suffering her see the Queen Mother,

Mother, which precipitate Order so afflicted that Princess, that she fell Sick and dy'd a Victim to Richlieu's Jealousy. The Dutchess d' Elbeuf, the Dutchess d' Ornano, the Dutchess de Lesdiguières, and the Dutchess de Roannez, were also banish'd the Court; the Queen Consort was hurry'd away with the King, Suffren, the Jesuit, bringing Mary de Medicis word that Lewis was gone, she would not contain herself, but rail'd furiously against Richlieu, who the next Day caus'd La Ville-aux-Clères, Secretary of State, to acquaint her that she might take the Air of Compeigne if she pleas'd. Thus is the Queen Mother left in the keeping of a Marechal of France, and is to reckon it a high Favour if she might walk in the Garden of the Castle. What is the Presumption of Tyrannical Ministers? Not the Parents of their Master are safe from their Persecution. Lewis has given his Mother up to the disposal of Richlieu, and 'tis not owing to his Duty, if the Cardinal does not push his Vengeance and Ingratitude farther. He has her in his Power, and what is it not Ambition and Revenge will not do? Lewis hazards all to please his Minister, an Insolent Prelate, whom no Ties of Virtue or Honour can bind. Vaultier, the Queen Mother's Physician and Confident, was sent to the Bastille, as was also the Abbe de Foix, and two Days after the Marechal de Bassompierre. The Cardinal would have had the Duke d' Epemon and the Marechal de Crequi arrested, but he was afraid of their Sons; the Duke de la Vaulterre, and the Count de Sault, the former in Possession of Metz, the other powerful in Dauphine. The Duke d' Epemon gave Bassompierre Notice that he wou'd be arrested, and advis'd him to be gone, offering him 50000 Crowns, which the Marechal wou'd not borrow of him, nor stir from Court, depending on his Innocence, the worst Guard a Man can have in a Court where a Richlieu is Master. Bassompierre had as good a Character as any one for Honour, Gallantry and greatness of Mind; yet it is said, he accus'd the Duke d' Epemon, the Duke of Guise, the Marquis d'Alincourt,

court, the Mareschal de Crequi, and the Count de la Rochefaucault of the Plot against the Cardinal; that they had endeavour'd to bring him into it, but he wou'd never hearken to 'em. False or True, Was the Character of an Informer worthy the great Reputation Bassompierre had acquir'd as a Gallant Man and a Man of Honour? What shall one say of Courts and Courtiers? Who is there that can stand the shocks of Fortune, maintain his Integrity and bear up against the Insolence of an Imperious and Arbitrary Minister? D' Epernon as Imperious as he naturally was himself, truckles to the Man whom lately he pretended to defy, and makes his Court to him at the expence of his Friends. He Complimented the Cardinal on his Triumph over the Ruin'd Party, that of *Mary de Medicis*, and told him, *The King was too kind to the Mareschal de Crequi and the Count de la Rochefaucault, I know not by Hearsay, but of my own Knowledge, that they deserve to be severely punish'd, the one is a Rascal and the other a Coward.* Wou'd one think one can find another such Instance as this of the depravity of Mens minds, and that in any other than a *French History*. Will Men of the highest Quality shew themselves such Slaves to Fortune, worship for their Interest those they despise, and vilifie those whom they cannot but esteem? What is Greatness if 'tis capable of such Treachery?

The Mareschal d' Etrees, who was the Queen Mother's Keeper in her Imprisonment at Compeigne, for surely that Castle so guarded by Horse and Foot, may very well be call'd a Prison, had every Day Orders to press *Mary de Medicis* to remove to *Moulins*, where *Richlieu* intended she shou'd remain in Custody of that or some other as watchful a Keeper. The Queen, however, wou'd not stir, sometimes she was Sick, sometimes the Place they wou'd send her to was infected, sometimes the Roads bad; at last, she told them positively she wou'd not be remov'd but by Force; the Duke of *Orleans* was in motion, and she resolv'd to be as near *Paris* and him as possible. The *Orleanois* declar'd

clard for Gaston, and the Marquis de la Feuillade
 rais'd Men for him in Poitou, Normandy, Mayne,
 and other Places. The People fond of Novelty,
 and oppress'd with Taxes, cry'd, Long Live Mon-
 sieur and Liberty. A Cry that will no more be heard
 in France. Monsieur's Friends gave out to render
 him Popular, that 'twas his Pity of the Peoples heavy
 burthens, and for their ease that he demanded Re-
 dress and a Reformation of State Abuses. In the
 Manifesto that Gaston publish'd, we may see what
 a deplorable Condition France was then in, and
 when has it since been in a better? The third Part of
 your Subjects, says he to his Brother Lewis, do not
 eat Bread in the Country, some of 'em live upon
 Oats, others dye of Hunger, or feed on nothing but
 Herbs and what the Beasts feed upon, those of 'em
 that are less to be pity'd, are fed with the Blood they
 rake out of the Kennels of the Shambles; having in sever-
 al Places seen these Wretches with my own Eyes.
 Puylaurens and Le Coigneux advis'd the Duke of
 Orleans to retire to Burgundy, where the Governor,
 the Duke de Belligarde, was ready to receive him.
 The Marechal de Tournay being on his way to Italy
 to Command the Forces there, was invited by Gaston
 to give him a Visit at Orleans, the Marechal sent
 the Letter unopen'd to the King. Richlieu was not
 idle on his Part, perswaded his Master to follow
 the Duke with all Diligence, to oblige him to fly
 the Kingdom, or submit to whatever Conditions
 shon'd be impos'd on him. The King march'd to-
 wards Orleans, and Monsieur retir'd to Burgundy,
 Lewis pursu'd him; and in the end the Duke of
 Orleans was forc'd to retire into Lorraine. Inve-
 ctives were publish'd on both sides, the Minister
 keeping Balzac, and other Pens in Pay to write
 for him upon all occasions, to Answer any thing that
 came out against him, and Right or Wrong to blacken
 his Enemies with the very Crimes that were laid
 to his Charge. The Truth is the Quarrel between
 Monsieur and his Brother was not so much Personal
 as it was Political. If Puylaurens and Le Coigneux
 had been satisfy'd, the two Royal Brothers had never
 fal'n

fal'n out; if *Richlieu* had not been jealous of *Montfieur's* Ministers, they had not been declar'd Guilty of High Treason as they were by the Parliament of *Dijon*, together with the Count de *Moret*, the King's Natural Brother, the Duke d' *Elbeuf*, the Duke de *Bellegarde*, the Duke de *Roamez*, *Monfigot*, *Chanteoobe*, Father of the Oratory, and others. The Manifestos publish'd in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*, spoke only the Sentiments of his Ministers, the King's Answers did the same with respect to *Richlieu*. 'Twas in reality a Paper War between the Favourites of the Two Princes, tho' the State was made use of on both sides. What the Duke of *Orleans* says in one of them, shews that if Princes do not make the Publick Good the Rule of their Government, it is not because they do not know 'tis their Duty to do it. After having upbraided the King with his Unnatural Carriage towards his Mother. He adds, *As to what concerns my self I must tell you that I did not leave the Court with a design to disturb the Peace of your Subjects; I have with my Eyes seen some of their Miseries, they are so Deplorable that the most Barbarous must be touch'd with Compassion, very far from desiring to Augment them, I wou'd Sacrifice my Life to diminish them, GOD is my Witness.* Let us see, in what Tone *Richlieu* makes his Master speak to his Brother, *Assure your self I am very well satisfy'd with my Ministers; I know how to defend them, and shew the World that the choice of my Counsellors depends only on my Pleasure, and not on the good liking of others.* It is merry to hear those Gentlemen talk after this rate. If Ministers are charg'd with Male-Administration, we know how to defend them; if evil Counsellors are complain'd of, the choice of 'em depends on our Pleasure only. Such is the Felicity of Absolute Monarchies, and of the Nation that fall under the Tyranny of Favourites. They have not that Fatherly Love for the People which a King has or shou'd have, for their Subjects, they look on them as their Property, to be us'd as counsils with their Passions and Interests. The King

was not content with the Declaration publish'd against the Duke of Orleans's Friends by the Parliament of *Dijon*, he wou'd have it register'd and verifi'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, but those Magistrates were not easily brought to Condemn Men unheard; three of the Presidents *Galant*, *Barillon* and *Loisne*, talk'd boldly against it, suggesting 'twas done at the Instigation of a Minister who abus'd the Name of the King to revenge his own private Quarrels. On the other Hand, *Roger*, the Duke of Orleans's Advocate, presented a Petition to the Parliament in the Name of *Galton*, charging *Richlieu* with several high Crimes which the Duke offer'd to prove. *Roger* was threaten'd with a Prison for presenting it, and *Lewis* order'd in Council, that the Petition shou'd be suppress'd as *Scandalous and contrary to the King's Service, the Peace of his Subjects, and the safety of the State*. The Parliament coming to the Vote about the Verification of the King's Edict, the Voices were equal, which made a Negative. The King enrag'd at that attempt upon his Authority Royal, in daring to refuse what he had commanded to be verifi'd order'd the Assembly to come to the *Louvre* a Foot, to make their Submission, and tear the *Arret* out of their Books, which gave the Negative to the Verification of his Edict. The People crouded to see that once Illustrious Body marching along like so many Criminals Two and Two, with their square Caps on their Heads, going to receive the last mortal Blow, which an Arrogant Minister was to give to what remain'd of the Liberties of the most August Tribunal in *France*.

The Magistrates were conducted into the Gallery of the *Louvre*, where *Lewis* sat on his Throne surrounded by the Count de *Soissons*, the Cardinals de la *Vallette* and de *Richlieu*, the Dukes de *Nemours*, *Angouteme*, *Longueville*, *Montmerency*, *Chevreuse*, and the Marshalls de *Crequi*, de *Schomberg*, de *St. Luc*, and de *Effiat*. The Magistrates were oblig'd to kneel, and after having been severely Repremanded by *Chateauneuf*, Keeper of the Seals, he tore their

their Arret in Pieces and they were order'd to Register that of the Parliament of *Dijon*. The Presidents *Galant*, *Barillon*, and *Laisnie* were suspended and banish'd into several Provinces. After this notable Exploit, this Glorious Victory over the Rights of the Supream Court of Judicature of *France*, *Lewis* seeing one of his Pensioners by, who was writing his Life, he went up to him, and clapping his Hand on his Shoulder, said, *Don't forget to put what you have seen in your History*; as if it was a Glory that deserv'd to be Immortal to suppress the Liberty of the Parliament, to whose Charge he cou'd lay nothing but that they vindicated the Reputation of his Brother. *Talon*, the Advocate General, most humbly beseeching his Majesty in behalf of the Three beforemention'd Magistrates, promising that hereafter they wou'd behave themselves with the Obedience of which the Assembly had always made Profession. *Lewis* took him up short, saying, *Don't tell me of your Obedience, if I wou'd have any one learn that Virtue, I wou'd put him into a Company of my Guards, and not send him to the Parliament; give me half a Dozen of those young Counsellors who talk'd so loudly, I'll place them among my Musketers, I'll warrant you they shall sooner learn Obedience than in a Court of Inquests*. Such was the Obedience the *French* were to make a Virtue of, the Obedience of Soldiers: A rare Virtue. Those that wou'd learn it, had best go to *France*, the *British* Obedience as Passive as it is, is not yet so much a Virtue.

Richlieu having thus mortify'd and silenc'd the Parliament, to lessen the *Odium* of it, got the King to recal the Three Presidents from their Banishment. The Court of *Aids* at the same time, made a shew of withstanding the Violences of *Richlieu's* Tyranny, and when the Count de *Soissons* brought them several Money Edicts to be verifi'd, that Prince having sent word to the Magistrates, that he wou'd be there at such an Hour, they all went out of the Court, and he found not one Body there, either to receive him or hear him. The Cardinal presently represented

represents it as an Attempt against the Authority Royal, and they were all Suspended at once. The loss of their Places render'd them less sensible of the loss of their Liberties; they made their most humble Submission to the Cardinal, and after much Solicitation and Mediation, they were restor'd to the Exercise of their Offices. The struggles of the *French* to save their Expiring Liberty were weak. They had not Courage enough to resist the Tyranny of the Minister, and their Posts were dearer to them than that Precious Freedom, which makes Riches a Blessing.

While the Duke of *Orleans* remain'd in *Lorraine*, the King order'd his Revenues in *France* to be seiz'd. Upon this *Gaston* writes him a Letter full of Resentment, which not daring to send by an Express for fear he shou'd be arrested as a Gentleman had already been coming on that Errand, he enclos'd it in one to the Parliament of *Paris*, and desir'd him to deliver it, but the Magistrates wou'd not open the Packet. In the Letter *Gaston* wrote the King, he amply set forth the Methods taken by *Richlieu* to usurp the Power of the Ancient *Mayors of the Pallace*; how he abus'd his Majesty's Name and Authority, how he misrepresented the Actions of the King's faithful Subjects, and put none but his Creatures into Places of Trust and Profit; in a word, his Representation of *Richlieu*, agrees exactly with the Character of all wicked Ministers; and the Answer *Lewis* return'd to his Letter, is what one shall commonly meet with from such as are in high Favour in Arbitrary Governments. 'Tis me, says the King, you attack and not my Ministers. These Manifestos are done with an ill intent. Such Things are commonly made use of to weaken the Authority of the Sovereign, to decry Princes under Pretence of Exclaiming against Ministers. I know the Qualifications of those that serve me, and understand my Affairs better than those that trouble themselves to talk of them. It is not for you, or those about you, to censure my Actions, or the Actions of my Ministers. Who can read this without Envy-

ing the Felicity of *France*; where neither the King nor his Ministers can err, where the Monarch is more Infallible than the Pope? For if it was possible for him or his Favourites to commit Errors, the Brother of the King, the Heir Presumptive to the Crown, might certainly censure them as he is so nearly concern'd in the Interests of the State. *Lewis* goes on with that Imperial Air which Dispotick Princes so much Delight in. *You have no Power over my Ministers, but I have a right to Chastize your Domesticks when they do ill; my Cousin the Cardinal de Richlieu has on all occasions serv'd me with so much Courage and Fidelity, his Counsells have been so advantageous and so useful to me, that I ought to Testifie to all the World the entire Satisfaction I have in the signal Services he has render'd me, and every Day continues to render to my Person and the State.* The good Cardinal himself is making his own Panegyrick, and putting it into the Mouth of his Master. Such Kings as *Lewis* was, will not only be flatter'd themselves, they take Pleasure in the Flattery bestow'd on their Ministers, and are themselves sometimes the basest of Flatterers with respect to their Favourites. Is not what follows of this curious Piece as Ridiculous as a Thing can well be? *I shou'd not deserve the Surname of Just, if I did not acknowledge his Services, and instead of repenting of what I have done for him, did not give him new Marks of my Favour as Opportunity shall offer. My Affairs cannot be in better Hands. Know therefore once for all, that I have an entire Confidence in him; and that he has never done any Thing but by my expresse Command, and with an exact Fidelity. His Actions oblige me to tell you, they can never be enough commended, and whatever is done or said against a Person, whom so many Services have recommended and endear'd to me, I shall take to be said and done against my self.* So say all such Ministers and the Favourites of such Princes, 'tis their Masters that the Factions aim at. By Factions, they mean, those that dare speak for the good of the Publick, that are so Sawcy as to talk of

of Grievances. Freedom is Faction; and with all the Duty and Affection a good subject owes his Prince, if the Minister, who surely, tho' we are told the contrary by *Lewis the Just*, does not do every Thing by express Command, is not as well pleas'd with him as the Master, it is very well if he escapes the Charge of Sedition.

If to resist a Minister be to resist the Prince, the Duke of *Guise*, one of the most Zealous Sons of the Church, did not set so Shining an Example of Passive Obedience, as one might expect from a *Papist* and a *French* Man. He enter'd into a Negotiation with the Court of *Madrid*, to obtain Succours from *Spain* to defend himself against *Richlieu*. What was *Lewis* then? Was he a Cypher only? Or was not the calling in a Foreign Power for his Defence against the Minister as Criminal as if he had done it against the Prince? The Truth is, the *French* Lords in those Times had not very Scrupulous Consciences in this Point, if they had Strength enough they never fail'd of making use of it, and doing themselves Right. But *Richlieu* and *Mazarine* did not suffer them to encrease or maintain their Power, and they since have talk'd as dutifully as the most Orthodox Nation can do.

To frighten the Duke of *Guise*, and lessen his Authority in the Province of which he was Governor, the Prince of *Conde* receiv'd an Order to preside in the Assembly of the States which was then to be holden at *Treason*, to take Cognizance of whatever related to the King's Service, and to have a watchful Eye on the Conduct of the Governor. *Conde*, whom the Cardinal kept at a distance from Business, had yearly such a Commission to preside in the Assembly of the States of one or other of the Provinces that preserv'd a shadow of Liberty, as *Languedoc*, *Bretagne* and *Provence*. This was all he got by his wonderful Complacency for *Richlieu*. The Prince lov'd Money, and every Journey he made he was sure to fill his Pockets with Pistoles, Each Province presented him a Gratuity, he affected to be Generous, and sometimes excus'd himself from

receiving above three Quarters of what he was offer'd, tho' he had his Ways to get the other Quarter, and perhaps more afterwards. The Cardinal wink'd at it, well enough pleas'd that he cou'd plunder any one, as long as himself was blameless, and *Conde* never fail'd in his Dispatches to *Richlieu* on these Occasions to mingle a good deal of Panegyrick on the Cardinal. His Commission gave great Umbrage to the Duke of *Guise*, and an Order he receiv'd soon after to come to Court frighten'd him yet more: Thinking himself not safe in *France*, he demanded leave to go in Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Loretto*. The Cardinal, content that he went into a voluntary Exile, procur'd him that Permission: The Duke went to *Florence*, and was well receiv'd by the Great Duke his Friend; he was no sooner gone, than the Magistrates of *Provence* hasten'd to Court with Informations against him, and he was summon'd to render an Account to the King of his Actions. *Guise* knowing that *Richlieu*, who wanted to make spoil of his Offices, wou'd not stick at any thing to ruin him, remain'd at *Florence*; his refusing to obey the Summons past for Contumacy, and he was turn'd out of all his Posts. The Cardinal did not let any Lord keep his Employment that was known to be in the Interest of the Queen Mother and *Gaston*. Those that had offended had no way of obtaining Pardon but by resigning their Places; the Duke de *Vendome* got his Liberty by giving up his Government of *Bretagne*, which *Richlieu* took himself; the Governments of *Picardy* and *Burgundy* were taken from the Dukes de *Bellegarde* and d' *Elbeuf*, who follow'd the Fortune of the Duke of *Orleans*. These Governments were given to *Richlieu's* Creatures, and secur'd to him the Frontiers. However, he was not easy while *Mary de Medicis* was so near as *Compeigne*, and the Marquis de *S'Chaumont* was dispatch'd to her, to press her Majesty to hasten her departure for *Moulins*; but *Gaston* being in *Lorraine* and the King in *Burgundy*, the Queen Mother resolv'd to see what wou'd be the Issue of those Commotions, and not to go farther unless she was forc'd

forc'd to it. The Queen said, she was inform'd that *Richlieu* intended to have her carry'd from *Moulins* to *Lyons*, to embark her on the *Rhone*, and thence transport her on Board the Gallies that were ready to *Italy*; and this report was so common, that the Cardinal was forc'd to advise the King to let his Mother stay some Time longer at *Compeigne*, and to name another Place than *Moulins* for her to retire to. The *Mareschal de Schomberg* was sent afterwards to offer her *Monceaux* or *Mante*, and he did it so insolently, that *Mary de Medicis* wrote a Letter of Complaint to the King; but *Schomberg* was a Favourite of *Richlieu's*, and *Lewis* who heard with no Ears, and saw with no Eyes, but his Minister's, did not resent it. The Design of the Queen Mother was to retire of herself into the *Netherlands*, if she cou'd not return to Court, nor engage the Governor of *La Capelle*, on the Frontiers, to receive her. If he wou'd, she resolv'd to defend herself in that Place with the Troops promis'd her by the Arch-Duchess *Isabella*, and those the Duke of *Orleans* was to bring her out of *Lorraine*. *Richlieu* had Intimation of the Queen's Resolution, to leave the Kingdom in case *La Capelle* did not open her Gates to her, and instead of taking Measures to prevent it, he advis'd the King to forward it by neglecting the Advices that were given by the *Mareschal d' Etrees* and others. The *Marquis de Vardes*, Son of the Governor of *La Capelle*, was gain'd by *Richlieu*, dealt doubly with *Mary de Medicis*, and gave her hopes of receiving her into the Place till the very Day of her approaching it. She left *Compeigne* the 18th of July 1631, attended only by five or six Horse. When she came near *La Capelle*, *Vardes*, who had promis'd to open the Gates to her, sent to tell her that his Father was come unexpectedly and had taken on himself the Command of the Place, so that he cou'd not admit her. Upon this she went strait to *Avesnes*, the First City in *Hainault*, travelling Twenty Leagues in one Day, and arriv'd the 20th. She was Complimented by the Governor of the County of

Hainault, by the *Spanish* Ambassador, and receiv'd afterwards at *Mons* by the Arch-dutchess her Aunt with extraordinary Honours. Her Majesty caus'd such another Petition to be presented to the Parliament against *Richlieu* as *Gaston* had done, but the Magistrates treated it after the same Manner, and refus'd to give it a Reading. Do we not remember how *Mary de Medicis* insulted them during her Regency, how she contributed to suppress the Authority of an Assembly to whom she now in vain fled for Justice. So far was the Parliament from justifying her, that they register'd a Declaration of the same kind against her Followers, as was against the Followers of her Son *Gaston*. From the *Netherlands* she wrote Three Letters in her own Justification, one to the King, another to the Parliament, and a third to the City of *Paris*. The King's Answer shews how little Princes are govern'd by the Laws of Nature when in the Hands of cruel and unnatural Ministers. *Richlieu* tells her in *Lewis's* Name. *Suffer me if you please, Madam, to tell you that what you have done now, and for some time past, clearly discovers to me your Intentions and what I am to expect from you hereafter, the Respect I owe you hinders me from explaining my self farther.* Her three Letters are very moving, and paint the Cardinal to the Life in the most odious colours imaginable, but neither of 'em had any effect. *Lewis* wou'd not open his Eyes or his Ears. The *Peculations* charg'd upon the Cardinal by the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* are almost infinite. The Duke of *Orleans* particularly says in one of his Letters. " That he sent Twenty Mules " loaden for the most Part with Gold to *Havre* " *de Grace* at one time; that he embezled yearly several Millions of the Moneys appropriated for " the *Marine*; that he spent Fifty Millions in the " War of *Italy*; that he wasted above 200 Millions of the Publick Treasure, and spent in his " House Ten times as much as the King. " The Truth is, *Richlieu* was very Poor before he was taken into the Queen's Service, his Family and most of his Relations were Beggars, but he soon rais'd all

all of 'em, and by Marriages and Employments, enobld and enrich'd them to the envy of all the Antient Nobility. He was Cunning and had a Conscience as well as a Head fit for any thing, yet if we look curiously into his History, we shall find none of that Openness, that Honesty, that Generous as well as that exalted Genius which distinguish'd the Heroes of Antiquity. Religion was a Mask he wore to hide his Artifices; he pretended to a more than ordinary share of Devotion, but he was in that all Out-side, as he was all In-side in his Politicks. He was at the bottom Lewd, and in fine, what a *French* Author calls him more than once, *Le plus grand Scelerate, in France*. *Gaston* in the abovemention'd Letter gives one a dreadful Idea of the miserable Condition of *France*, where those detestables Wretches the *Informers* were in full Employment, every one's Looks were taken Notice of, their Sighs observ'd, and People did not think themselves safe in their Closets. *Richlieu*, to be reveng'd on the Arch-Dutchess for her Pompous Reception of the Queen Mother, did his utmost to embroil the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. The Arch-Dutchess sent the Dean of *Cambray* to inform the Court of *France* of the Treatment *Mary de Medicis* had met with in the Low-Countries, and offer her good Offices for the Re-union of the Royal Family. Whether *Richlieu* had heard of a Conspiracy of the Lords of that Country, to throw off the *Spanish* Yoke after the Death of *Isabella*, or whether he imagin'd the Dean, who was disgusted at his having been refus'd the Bishoprick of *Namure*, would be a proper Person to set such a Plot on Foot, he had unusual Honours paid him at the Court of *France*. He was so Caress'd by the Minister, and so Magnificently entertain'd, that *Richlieu* made him his Friend, and by Promises and Presents engag'd him to give him Intelligence of whatever pass'd in the *Netherlands*, in the Court of *Isabella*, or that of *Mary de Medicis*, whose Estate, Dower and Goods were seiz'd, and all that shou'd go to her or her Son *Gaston*, declar'd Guilty of High Treason, it being the usual Practice of Tyrannick

rannick Ministers, to call every thing High Treason which aims at putting an end to their Tyranny, and the Forfeitures they levy by it, are the sweetest part of the Vengeance they take on their Opponents: To be very Rich, with such Men, is the surest way to be Criminal, and no Crimes turn so well to their Account as High Treason. That Life is one of the Forfeitures signifies nothing. The *Richlieus* and *Magarines* imitating their great Master *Matchiavel*, never boggled at any means, however sanguinary and unlawful, to rid themselves of those they fear'd.

The Cardinal *de Richlieu* having driven the King's Mother and Brother out of the Kingdom, to shew how little he was apprehensive of their being able to do him a Mischief, procur'd Letters Patents to erect the little Lordship of *Richlieu* into a Dutchy and Peerage, affecting to be call'd the *Cardinal Duke*, as was the Duke of *Lerma*, Favourite of *Philip the III^d. of Spain*. This Man, the vainest Creature alive, went accompany'd by the Prince of *Conde*, the Dukes *de Montmerency*, *de Chevreuse*, *de Montbazon*, *de Retz*, *de Crequi*, *de Ventadour*, the Marshals *de Virry*, *d' Etrees*, *d' Effiat*, and other Lords, to take his seat in Parliament, yet so over Modest was he, that he wou'd not enter the Hall by the Great Door where the Croud waited for his Entrance, nor wou'd he be prais'd according to Custom by the Person who presented his Letters Patents, contenting himself with his Eulogy drawn up at large in the Preamble and sign'd by the King, which was read to the Assembly. But tho' he went in at the little Door, he took Precedence of the Duke *de Montmerency* and all other Dukes who basely yeilded it to him, notwithstanding the *Roman Purple* gave the Cardinal no Rank in Parliament.

I have already mention'd a Practice begun in this Reign to erect Tribunals, on purpose to Try and Condemn such as the Court had a mind to take off. *Richlieu* and the Ministers wou'd not trust to the Justice of the Parliament of *Paris*, who were the proper Judges of State Criminals. Commis-saries were appointed by the Court, and pack'd Tribunals

Tribunals set up to deprive the Enemies of the Favourite of their Estates, Liberties and Lives. The Cardinal to cajole the Parliament, nam'd some of their Members to be of the Chamber of Justice, which he was about to erect to proceed against the Followers of *Mary de Medicis* and the Duke of *Orleans*, but the Assembly rais'd Difficulties when their Commission was offer'd for Verification, insisting that all the Members shou'd be of their Body. The Cardinal wou'd not hear of it; they then desir'd only the Deputy of the *Proctor General*, and the Register might be of the new Chamber, which *Richlieu* wou'd not consent to, because their Proceedings wou'd then be liable to be examin'd by Parliament, the Register having enter'd them regularly, according to the Custom of that Court. This wou'd not answer the Ends of the Minister, which was to procure the Condemnation of the Persons accus'd on any or no Proof, and not to suffer the re-hearing of the Process on any Pretence whatsoever. Thus were the greatest Lords of *France* depriv'd of their Posts and Estates, and their Lives had also been a Sacrifice to *Richlieu's* Ambition, cou'd he have got their Persons in his Power. *Duval*, the Astrologer beforemention'd, was sent to the Gallies, as was also *Senelle*, another such Conjuror as himself; the Duke de *Roannez*, the Marquis de *Vieuville*, and the Countess du *Fargis*, were condemn'd to be beheaded in Effigy. The Estates of the Duke de *Roannez*, the Duke d' *Elbeuf*, the Duke de *Bellegarde*, the Count de *Moret*, the King's Natural Brother, the Countess his Mother, the Marquis de *Boissi*, the Marquis de *Vieuville*, the Marquis de *Sourdeac*, and the President *Le Coigneux*, were confiscated. The sweet Revenge of all Men in Power who are insensible of Gratitude and Humanity, and are bounded by no Laws, Humane or Divine, but justify all their Actions by the Authority Royal. When the Marquis de *Vitri* assassin'd *Conchini*, who first introduc'd *Richlieu* to Court, he was hated by him as an ill willer to his Mistress the Queen Regent. Now he is belov'd for the very same Reason

son, and has the Government of *Provence* given him, on no other Account, but that he was a Person who had so far disoblig'd the Queen Mother, that they were sure he wou'd never be forgiven by her. The Parliament of *Paris* had the Courage to make one attempt more for the Preservation of their Rights and Privileges, and when the Court was at *Metz*, following the Duke of *Orleans* in *Lorraine*, they put out an *Arret* to remonstrate to the King against the erecting of the Chamber of Justice, and to forbid the latter to sit. The Cardinal, instead of hearkening to their Remonstrances, got the King to send for the Magistrates who had sign'd the *Arret* as far as *Lorraine*, to Answer for their Disobedience. Accordingly the Poor Presidents and Counsellors post away in the midst of Winter to *Metz*, where they attended a long time before they cou'd procure Audience. When they had that Honour, *Lewis* told them with a severe Tone, He wou'd for that time forgive them, but if ever they shou'd offend so again they shou'd dearly pay for't; that he lov'd his People better than they, and cou'd tell better how to provide for the Glory and Reputation of his Crown. He forbid them for the future to meddle with any Matters but those of *Meun* and *Tuum*. The President *de Bellievre* saying they were bred up in a good School, and well instructed in the Duties of Obedience and Fidelity to his Majesty, the King took him up saying, You do not then very well remember the Lessons you learnt there. And all they cou'd say, cou'd not hinder their being oblig'd to dance after the Court till its return to *St. Germans en Laie*.

During these violent Proceedings against the Followers of *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston*, the latter was busy'd in *Lorraine* in prosecuting his Marriage with the Princess *Margaret*, Sister to that Duke, and raising Men and Money to invade *France*. But tho' he marry'd that Princess privately, all his other Projects came to nothing, occasion'd as much by the Misunderstandings in his Family, as by the Artifices and Power of *Richlieu*. The President *Le Coigneux*

Coigneux was for accommodating Matters with the Court, the Duke *de Bellegarde* and others were of the same Sentiments. *Puylaurens* declar'd against any Accommodation till Satisfaction was given to the Duke his Master and all his Friends. The Duke *de Elbeuf* and his Party supported this Opinion, which being the more Generous one, was the more to *Gaston's* Gout, and he sent his Favourite *Puylaurens* to the *Netherlands*, to sollicite Succours. In this Negotiation he had not the disir'd and expected Success, *Lewis* being so near as he was with a Powerful Army, every one was afraid of bringing it upon them, and *Orleans* was forc'd to be satisfy'd with large Promises and a little Money, while *Lewis* made himself Master of Two good Places *Vic* and *Moyanvic*, under Pretext that they were Dependencies of the Bishoprick of *Metz*. There were German Garrisons in them, but so thin and so ill provided, that all Resistance was to no purpose. The *Lorrainers* and *Germans* had nothing for the Towns but Complaints, and *France* has ever since been in Possession of them. *Richlieu* wou'd not return to *Paris*, without some new Acquisition, and never did Nation make any so easily and so cheap as *France*. *Mary de Medicis* who had been mightily earnest for her Son *Gaston's* Marriage with the Princess of *Lorraine*, was still more exasperated against *Richlieu* for his ravishing part of Duke *Charles's* Territories from him, at a time when she had enter'd into so close an Alliance with him. She again wrote a Letter to the King to demand Justice against the Cardinal; but what cou'd she expect of *Lewis*, who had order'd the Estates and Goods of his unfortunate Mother to be seiz'd, an Inventory of her Moveables to be drawn, her Domesticks to be imprison'd, banish'd and condemn'd; for High Treason? The Cardinal had hir'd a parcel of mercenary Libellers to vilify his Benefactress as the greatest Enemy to the King and Kingdom, and resolv'd that no such Message shou'd be brought them for the future. *Lewis*, at the Instigation of *Richlieu*, told the Messenger, that if ever she wrote any

any thing against the Cardinal, the Bearer of the Letter shou'd be thrown into Prison. And having oblig'd *Charles* the IVth, Duke of *Lorrain*, to enter into a Dishonourable Treaty with him, which was concluded before the King's return to *St. Germans*, *Gaston* was forc'd to retire into the Low Countries, where the Arch-Dutchess receiv'd him with as extraordinary Honours as she had shewn his Mother, and entertain'd them at her own Expence suitable to their Royal Dignity.

As soon as he arriv'd at *Brussels*, *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* concerted Measures for raising Money and strengthening their Interest. *Dourchaut* carry'd their Jewels to *Amsterdam* to Pawn, and the *Spaniards*, glad that they had the Presumptive Heir of the Crown of *France* in their Hands, promis'd wonders, in hopes to kindle a Civil War in that Kingdom, and hinder the *French* sending Succours to the King of *Sweden* and the States. But the Superior Genius of *Richlieu* preserv'd him, and establish'd his Authority on the Ruins of all his Enemies.

Gaston held a Correspondence with *Wallestein*, the Imperial General, and the Cardinal did the same with the King of *Sweden*, who was then at the Head of a Victorious Army in *Germany*. The *Swedish* Ambassador, Count *Horn*, desir'd an Interview between the Two Monarchs, which *Richlieu* wou'd not consent to, apprehensive that a King who stutter'd, as did *Lewis* the XIIIth, and whose Capacity was not extraordinary, wou'd expose himself before one who talk'd Gracefully and Eloquently in several Languages as *Gustavus Adolphus* did, whose Genius was equal to his Ambition, and who had a Consummate Experience in Affairs both Political and Military. The Cardinal sent his Brother-in-Law, the Marquis de *Breze*, to excuse this Interview as handsomely as possible, and being return'd to *Paris*, press'd the Marriage of his Niece *Combalet* with the Prince de *Soissons* so far that the Prince yielded to it, on Condition the King expressly commanded it, and wou'd give it under his Hand that he desir'd he shou'd marry her, as being for his Service and

and the the good of the State. The Cardinal did not imagine his Master durst deny him, and spoke of it to the King, who answer'd him in general Terms. *Richlieu* renew'd his Instances, and oblig'd his Friends who were about *Lewis*, to insinuate to him every now and then, that so Indefatigable a Minister as was the Cardinal deserv'd that Favour. At last tir'd out with their Importunities he told them plainly, *That he had seriously consider'd the Matter, and cou'd not in Prudence consent to it; that the Count de Soissons had already a great Interest on Account of his Rank and Alliances, and to give him the Cardinal's Niece, wou'd put him into a Condition to aspire to any Thing, and render him as Powerful and perhaps more Powerful than himself. The Prince of Conde, jealous of the Agrandizing the Younger Branch of his Family, wou'd fall in with the Malecontents, and none wou'd be left with the King but the Count, who wou'd both be kept in Perpetual alarm by the Cardinal's Enemies.* *Richlieu* thought fit to dissemble his Chagrin on this Occasion, and answer'd in submissive and respectful Terms. Having miss'd his aim in the Marriage of his Niece, he comforted himself with the Revenge he was about to take on his Enemies. The *Mareschal de Marillac* was the first who felt the weight of it, he was remov'd from the Castle of *St. Menehoud*, in *Campaigne*, to that of *Verdun*, where *Vaubecour*, a profess'd Enemy of his, commanded. 'Twas thought the Cardinal wou'd have him try'd there, that being at so great distance from *Paris*, he might not get his Witnesses together. On this and other Accounts, the Parliament pass'd several *Arrets* in his Favour, which *Richlieu* wou'd not suffer to be executed. Commissioners were appointed by him, and his Creatures to Try the *Mareschal* at *Verdun*, but he refusing to Answer, they threaten'd to Condemn him as a Mute; upon which, after he had protested against the Injustice done him, he pleaded to 160 Articles which were exhibited against him. The number of them was made so great to render him the more Odious to the King. The *Mareschal* perceiving the

Malice

Malice and Power of his Enemies wou'd destroy him; drew up a Petition which was carry'd to Court, but the Cardinal wou'd not suffer it to be presented to the King. The Marechale his Lady, who solicited for him at the *Louvre*, was order'd to leave *Paris*, as were also his neareſt Relations, to prevent his Majesty's being troubl'd with their Remonſtrances in his behalf. The Lady Marechale apply'd to *Richlieu*, who bad his People to tell her he cou'd not hear her without the King's expreſs Order. How indeed cou'd this Cruel and Insolent Prieſt give Audience to the mournful Wife of a Man he was about to Murder under the form of Juſtice? They had refus'd to let him have his Tryal according to due courſe of Law. *Richlieu*'s Enemies had the ſame uſage, as will all the Enemies to Tyranny have under Arbitrary and Sanguinary Miniſters. They were taken off by Men pick'd on purpoſe to do the Drudgery, ſuch as were our Jury-Men, when the Shriſſs of *London*, to gain the Favour of the Court, made ſure of ſuch Men as wou'd ſtick at nothing to take off ſuch as an ill Miniſtry had firſt doom'd to Deſtruction. The Cardinal nam'd, for one of the Commiſſioners *du Chatelet*, the profeſs'd Enemy of *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, the Marechal's Brother, againſt whom he had written a virulent Satyr, and did not ſpare the Marechal in it. This Man's Name was *Paul Hay*, and his Family which was of *Bretagne*, pretended to be of that *Scotch* Family, Famous in former Days, and likely to be as Famous in future Times, for what has happen'd and may happen in this Age. He had been a Commiſſioner in other State Tryals, and was prov'd to have receiv'd 15000 Livres for a Bribe to bring a *Spaniard* off who was try'd in a Criminal Caſe. *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, ſuſpended him for his Corruption, he being a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and for this did *du Chatelet* bear the Two Brothers mortal Enmity. Having a Satyrycal Pen, he fell upon them with Libels which he read to *Richlieu*, who, like other ſuch Miniſters, took delight in the Scandal brought him daily by Paraſites and Sycophants. He wrote
once

once against a Prince, who hearing of it, resolv'd to have him cudgell'd to Death, but the Keeper of the Seals coming to the Knowledge of it, sav'd him by his Mediation; yet the ungrateful Libeller continu'd his hatred to the *Marillacs*, and his Lampoons against their Friends, not sparing the Cardinal *de Berulle* then living, and as for the Marechal he painted him as a Man that deserv'd no less than to be hang'd. The Marechal had therefore good Reason to except against him, and the People clamour'd so much at the Injustice of making his Enemy his Judge, that at last he was struck out of the List, as were several Counsellors of the Parliament of *Dijon*, who, tho' highly disgusted at him for Quartering his Soldiers upon them in his last march to *Italy*, yet cou'd they not be prevail'd with to Condemn him against their Consciences and a new set of Commissioners was appointed, the chief of which was *Chateauneuf*, Keeper of the Seals, who had gotten them by the Disgrace of the Marechal's Brother.

Mary de Medicis and *Gaston*, Duke of *Orleans*, sent every one of the Judges word, that they shou'd one Time or another be call'd to a severe Account for their Proceedings against the Marechal *de Marillac*, whose only Crime was his having serv'd them faithfully. *Gaston* particularly caus'd two Solicitors against him to be threaten'd, that they shou'd be shot through the Head if they in the least transgress'd the Rules of Justice in their Process. He and his Mother had contriv'd to have some of *Richlieu's* nearest Relations carry'd off, to keep 'em in Hostage for Monsieur *de Marillac*. The Cardinal being inform'd of it by his Spies, all their Domesticks were commanded to leave *Paris*, and the Citizens forbidden to entertain them under severe Penalties. The New Commission was open'd at *Pomhoise*, whe- ther the Marechal was brought from *Verdun*, under the Guard of Monsieur *Puyfugur*, who was offer'd 100000 Crowns if he wou'd let him Escape, which he generously refus'd. There has been Instances of the Generosity of the Soldiery under Ty-
rannick

rannick Ministers. They have behav'd themselves like Men of Honour, and wou'd not Sacrifice it to the Power of a prevailing Faction. They wou'd not vilify the Generals they had serv'd under with Glory, nor, as far as they cou'd hinder it, suffer them to be vilify'd, for which Guilty and Cowardly Ministers have born them implacable hatred, and taken all Opportunities to mortify and humble them; but those Instances are few, and the Soldiers, whose Fortune depends on Courts, have generally been the Instruments of their Despotick Government. They are not the greatest Politicians in the World, they judge commonly by the Present, those that can serve them now, may be pretty sure of their Service.

The Cardinal was so afraid of *Marillac's* making his Escape, that he order'd him to be remov'd once more, from *Ponthoise* to *Ruel*, a House of his own between *Paris* and *St. German en Laie*: Where upon the Testimony of Witnesses suborn'd for that purpose by his Enemies, he was condemn'd to be Beheaded by Judges suborn'd also to Condemn him; the 8th of May 1632. Yet of those Judges Ten out of Three and Twenty gave their Opinion that his Crimes did not deserve Death. Upon News of his Condemnation, his Relations flew to *St. German en Laie*, to implore the King's Mercy; they apply'd first to the Cardinal, who they knew manag'd all Things at his Pleasure. *Richlieu* pretended to be in a great surprize when he heard it, tho he was well inform'd of every Circumstance of the Process and Tryal. You tell me, says he, what I never heard of before, I am sorry Monsieur de *Marillac* has brought himself by his own Fault into this Condition, go to the King, he is Merciful. My Lord, reply'd one of them, will you be pleas'd to interceed for the *Mareschal*? The Cardinal answer'd again sullenly, Go to the King. Upon this they threw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, who told them, He wou'd see what he had to do, and bad them to retire. They then return'd to *Richlieu*, who ask'd them, If they had Spoken to the King. Yes, yes, reply'd

ply'd one of the Marechal's Kinsman, *But his Majesty only told us he wou'd see what he had to do, and then commanded us to retire. I advise you to Obey him,* reply'd the Cardinal. Another of Monsieur de Marillac's Relations, pressing him, he said angrily, *I advise you to retire as the King had you, and now I commend you to do it.* The Poor Gentlemen seeing there were no Hopes, return'd to Paris, whither the Marechal was brought bound like a Common Criminal, and beheaded at *Le Greve*, the Place of Execution. The main Charge against this Marechal of France was *Peculation*; a Crime which he seem'd to wonder how they cou'd imagine a Man of his Rank cou'd be Guilty of, and 'twas generally thought, that the Misapplications of the Soldiers Money laid to his Charge were without Foundation, at least, that they cou'd hardly make it a *Misdemeanour*. To all the Articles that were brought against him when his Sentence was read, he made a brave Speech becoming his Quality and Condition; but in the end he cou'd not help crying out several times, *Peculat Bon Dieu! Bon Dieu Peculat.*

The Cardinal was not satisfy'd with the Blood of this Gentleman, he set his Libellers to work to blacken his Memory after his Death, and among the rest, the Infamous *du Chatelet* before mention'd, who had Sworn before the King that he was not the Author of the Libel which had already been spoken of, and afterwards own'd he was, for which he was sent to Prison. To get out, he undertook to write a *Vindication of the Tryal of the Marechal de Marillac*, for People talk'd very freely upon it, and it was the general Opinion that it was not manag'd as it ought to have been.

The Injustice of it reflecting upon the Cardinal, he employ'd his Hirelings to abuse the Marechal in his Grave, and *Poltron*, *Robber* and *Falsitious* were the best Terms they had for him. The Defenders of the Queen Mother on the contrary, represent him as a good Christian, a good Statesman, a fine Gentleman, and a great General. We are not

farther

farther concern'd in his Character, than to shew the Tyranny of *Richlieu* in oppressing Men of Merit, and 'tis certain, that had the Mareschal had less, the Cardinal wou'd not have been so jealous of his Rivalship, nor have gone out of the way so much to rid himself of a Competitor, which, as his Creature sets him out, cou'd never have been a dangerous one. When the Queen Mother heard of the Death of Monsieur de *Marillac*, she was so enrag'd, that she threaten'd to serve *Richlieu* in the same Manner if ever it was in her Power, which her threatening him so was one of the surest ways to hinder.

The Sacrifice of a Mareschal of *France* to the Vengeance of the Minister, did not so far dispirit the great Lords that they durst not think of means of delivering themselves from the Slavery he was bringing upon them. The Province of *Languedoc* was highly disgusted at the loss of their Privileges, and the Duke de *Montmerency*, who had been engag'd in the Interests of *Mary de Medicis* and the Duke of *Orleans*, by his Nephew the Bishop of *Alby*, knew how to improve that disgust in their Favour. He was Governor of the Province, and retir'd to it in Discontent, which encreas'd, for that *Richlieu* seem'd to dispise it, at least, not to think it deserv'd his giving himself much trouble about it, imagining no Body wou'd dare to oppose his Tyranny, after they had been Witneses of the fate of *Marillac*. The Duke de *Montmerency* had been a long time prepar'd for an Intrigue with *Gaston*, and his Mother, by his Wife, a Princess of the House of *Ursins*, related to that of *Medicis*. But he did not enter deep into it, till after his return to *Languedoc*, and when *Gaston* was at *Brussels*. The first Publick step he took, which shew'd his Discontent, was, his pressing the Court to re-establish the States of *Languedoc*, and the abolishing the *Elects*; *Richlieu* wou'd not consent to the latter, and as to the former he did it with such Restraint, that the States found themselves restor'd to the Name, without any Authority but what the Court

Court pleas'd to allow them by their Commissioners, who were always to assist at their Assemblies. After this *Montmerency* demanded the Office of *Mareschal General*, his Father and Grand-father having successively held that of Constable, suppress'd on the Death of the Constable *Lesdisgueres*; he also demanded the Government of the City and Citadel of *Montpellier*. *Richlieu* evaded his Demands, and in such a manner, that he saw he was to expect nothing more than he had. An event had happen'd before he left the Court, which made him the more uneasy there, and the more willing to quit it. He had a Quarrel with the Duke de *Chevreuse*, and sent the Marquis de *Praslin* to him, to desire they might come to an *Eclaircissement*, *Praslin* receiv'd a satisfactory Answer, but as he was going away, a Gentleman, belonging to the Duke, drew upon him, *Chevreuse* seeing it drew also, and the Duke de *Montmerency*, who was in sight, running to the Assistance of *Praslin*, a Combat ensu'd, several Lords ran in to part them and their Seconds. The two Dukes were too great to be arrested without the King's express Order; the others were sent to the Guard, and thence to the *Bastille*. The King was highly offended with the Dukes for fighting in his House, and order'd *Montmerency* to retire to *Chamilli*, and *Chevreuse* to one of his Houses. The Courtiers were, as usual, divided on this Occasion, some took the Part of *Chevreuse*, others that of *Montmerency*; among the latter was the Duke de *St. Simon*, the Favourite, which the Dutches de *Chevreuse*, who since her return to Court, was very much in the good Graces of the Cardinal, so resented that, from that time she began to set *Richlieu* against him, and his Disgrace was the Consequence of it. For *Lewis* the XIIIth. was not, as has been said, more Master of himself than of his Kingdom. he will'd as he reign'd, as his Minister would have him; he lov'd and hated by Direction, not Choice, and *Richlieu* knew too well how to make Advantage of his Weakness to the Destruction of all that oppos'd him.

During the Retreat of the Duke de Montmerency at Chantilli, he talk'd freely enough of Richlieu, and his Friends perceiv'd that it wou'd end in a Rupture; to prevent it, they set forth his own Impotence and his Enemy's Power, and advis'd him to temporize. But when he was in *Languedoc*, the Bishop of *Alby*, who held a strict Correspondence with *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* at *Brussels*, found means to work up his Resentment to the pitch they desir'd. He represented to him, that he was a Person of more Consideration in the Kingdom than the Duke d' *Epernon*, who, however, oblig'd the King to Sign a Declaration, that what he did for the Queen Mother was for the good of the State, *What are you afraid of*, said the Bishop, *the Gentlemen and People of the Province will declare for you, and second your Designs; the Success of which will be the more Glorious, for that you will at once deliver the Widow and Son of Henry the Great from the Oppression of a Minister universally hated, and detested by all France as the most ungrateful and wicked Wretch that ever was.* What is this *Italian* Prelate doing? Is he not Preaching Resistance to a *French* Lord? If to resist any one in Authority under the Sovereign be a damnable Sin, as one wou'd think it is by the 12th of *Car. Sec.* what Damnation wou'd *Delbene*, Bishop of *Alby*, bring upon his Uncle the first Christian Baron in *Europe*? Must *Montmerency* take Arms, because the Minister will not make him *Mareschal General*? Is there any Instance of such daring in the Reign of the Son of *Lewis* the XIIIth? What wou'd become of a Duke, Peer and Mareschal now, if he shou'd offer to stand on Terms in his Government? It was not so bad with the *French* a Hundred Years ago, they had not forgot that there was a Time when the *French* were Free, and did not imagine there wou'd ever come one, when the very Name of Freedom shou'd be a Terror to them. The Bishop of *Alby* continuing his Conferences with *Montmerency*, wrote at last to *Gaston* that he did not despair of his declaring for him, if he cou'd enter
France

France with a few Troops, only to be able to make a stand against the first shock of the King's. The Duke of Orleans engag'd to enter France with 2000 Horse, and that the Duke of Lorrain shou'd make a Diversion with 15000 Men. But the Irresolution and Inconstancy of that Prince was such, that it spoil'd all the Projects which had the least Dependance on him. Richlieu's Spies giving him Intelligence that something was on the Anvil in Languedoc to his Prejudice, he wrote to the Marquis des Fosse, Governor of Montmerency, of his own Head, and without the King's Knowledge, to secure the Person of the Duke de Montmerency, who came often to that City, and had so many Friends there, that he got Intimation of the Orders des Fosse had receiv'd from Richlieu, which being known, the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood came immediately and offer'd their Service to the Duke, and advis'd him to secure the Marquis des Fosse, and to make himself Master of the Citadel, the Garrison of which was weak. But Montmerency had not then determin'd to declare for Gaston, and contented himself to accept of the Guard they brought him to Conduct him to his own House, where he remain'd sometime in uncertainty. He sent the Captain of his Guards to Court to assure Richlieu of his Fidelity; but the Cardinal was too cunning to be impos'd upon, and wrote to the Arch Bishop of Narbonne to Vauderonne, Intendant of the Province, and every one that was devoted to the Court to observe and oppose him. Montmerency wou'd not have had the Duke of Orleans come so soon as he did, he was not so well provided to receive him as he wou'd have been, and besides, the time concerted for his entering Languedoc was not come. But the Duke of Lorrain, who was bent upon breaking the fatal Treaty he had made with Lewis, which put Marshal, his best Town into the French King's Hands, pressing Gaston to hasten his Irruption, for that the French Army was coming down upon him, the Duke of Orleans parted from Brussels, and march'd to Burgundy, accompany'd by a Body of Horse

Horse. He gave the Duke *de Montmerency* Notice of his Approach. The Duke was surpriz'd at *Gaston's* Precipitation, and found himself further engag'd than he desir'd to be. His Friends advis'd him to disown the Proceedings of the Duke of *Orleans*, who coming before the Time agreed upon, had broken that Agreement, and *Montmerency* was disengag'd from any Promise he had made him. But that Duke was too Generous to abandon a Young Prince, who, in Confidence of his Friendship, was so far advanc'd in the Kingdom, and wou'd be at the Cardinal's Mercy without his Assistance, which he again promis'd him, and set himself to engage the States then Assembled at *Perzenas*, to second him, saying to *Soudheilles*, Captain of his Guards, as he went out of his Closet, *Dear Friend, the Die is flung.* 'Tis too late Sir, reply'd the Gentleman heartily griev'd at it, *You have forgot your True Interest, and the Interest of your Friends and Servants. Think, at least, that you are going to ruin a Province that has always lov'd you, and been belov'd by you. 'Twill become a Prey to Two or Three Armies, that will on all Sides Ravage it. Are not you afraid of being one Day reproach'd for all the Miseries which you will infallibly raise to Languedoc.* The Duke seem'd to be a little touch'd at what his Faithful Servant said, but flattering himself that no Honest Man cou'd blame his Undertaking, to deliver the King's Mother and Brother from the Persecution of a Revengeful Minister, it did not alter his Resolution; in the Prosecution of which, he caus'd the Persons of the Arch Bishop of *Narbonne*, of the King's Commissaries *Hemeri* and *Miron*, and of the Intendant *Vauderonne*, to be secur'd. The States of the Province, not so well convinc'd of the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, as they have been since they have not had the Power to Resist, made a sort of Declaration, wherein they desir'd him *To Unite his Interests inseparably from those of the Province, as they in like manner will joyn theirs with his, so the end that both might act together for the King's Service, and the Welfare and Ease of the Province.* There

There are so many curious and moving Passages in the Story of this Gentleman, Monsieur de Montmerency, the Richest, and most Noble Lord in France, and it so well shews us of what Severe and Inexorable Tempers were Lewis and his Ministers, that the Reader will not be displeas'd with the Detail of it; which, however, shall be shorten'd in proportion to the other Parts of this History.

Before the Cardinal wou'd let the King march against his Brother, that there might be no Diversion on the Side of Lorrain, he put him upon an Expedition which reduc'd that poor Duke to a worse Condition than the former Treaty; for having immediately taken Three or Four Towns, and threatening to Invest Nanci, the Capitol, the Duke was forc'd to beg a Peace, which he procur'd by the hard Terms of delivering up Stenai and Fametz, Two of his best Places, as also Clermont in Torgone. That he shou'd give Free Passage through his Country to the Troops of France, joyn his own to the King's, and renounce all Treaties and Engagements with Mary de Medicis, Gaston, or any of his Majesty's Enemies; which Charles promising to do, the Three or Four little Towns which Lewis had taken, were restor'd to him, and the King turn'd his Arms against the Duke of Orleans and Montmerency. The former, who had enter'd France at the Head of 2000 German, Spanish, Flemish, and French Horse, found the Country in no disposition to assist him. The Towns shut their Gates against him wherever he came: The French, intimidated by the Cruelty and Authority of Richlieu, were afraid to look on Liberty when he offer'd it to them, or at least were afraid he had it no more at his Heart than his Brother, however 'twas in his Mouth. Two False Steps in the beginning of their Enterprize contributed very much to the Ruin of it, and those were the Duke de Montmerency's neglecting to possess himself of the Cities of Montpellier and Narbonne, and giving his Enemies Time so to strengthen their Garrisons, that he durst not afterwards attempt it. When Monsieur arriv'd in Languedoc, he brought

not Money enough for his Subsistance, and the Duke *de Montmerency*, who had 500000 Livres in his Treasurer's Hands at *Paris*, had not taken Care to have it return'd to him, by which means *Richlieu* came to the Knowledge of it, and seiz'd it. The Duke *d' Epernon*, Governour of *Guyenne*, and very powerful in the Neighbouring Provinces, several of which he had formerly been Governour of, was *Montmerency's* Friend, and not very well with the Court, yet he omitted to sound him, till *d' Epernon* saw the Affair was too desperate, and refus'd to embark in it.

There happen'd a Passage between the Dukes *de Lesdisguieres* and *Montmerency*, which will explain to us further what was the Obedience the Lords of *France* were dispos'd to practise in this Reign. The latter sending a Gentleman to Complement the Duke *de Lesdisguieres*, on his having the Constable's Staff, that Officer, who had a particular respect for *Montmerency*, demanded how it went with him, and the Gentleman making answer, *Things went as well as cou'd be expected with a Young Lord, Magnificent and Liberal, ador'd in Languedoc, and in Favour at Court. That's very well,* reply'd the Old Soldier, *But I wish him better still, pray tell him from me, that he shou'd from Time to Time reflect on the Greatness of his Birth, his Personal Qualities, and the Posts he possesses. He will then find it difficult, with so many Advantages, to avoid the Envy of Courtiers, and the Jealousy of Favourites. I experienc'd it in the Progress of my Fortune. The best Precaution a Man of his Quality can take, is never to be surpriz'd in his Government, or elsewhere, but always to have wherewith to Arm 10000 Men, and 200000 Crowns in his Coffers, which is very easy for him to do, he is Rich enough. Tell him also, if you will, that besides this, he shou'd get as many Places and Governments as he can, either by Money or Favour, and especially Pont St. Esprit. Such a Reputation as this, tho' not exactly True, got me more Consideration at Court, and amongst those that envy'd my Fortune, than all the Actions I am now flatter'd upon. Montmerency had*
neither

neither 200000 Crowns in his Coffers, nor wherewith to Arm 10000 Men, nor any Places of considerable Strength, and *Gaston* brought him few Troops and no Money; Measures so ill concerted were not likely to succeed. *Orleans* sent the Count *du Fargis*, who sided with him, to *Spain*, to Negotiate Matters at that Court. He was follow'd by the Famous *Voiture*, a Domestick of *Gaston's*, the most Celebrated Wit of his Time: His Letters are to this Day, the Standard of Gallantry and Politeness, small Allowances being made for the Alteration in the Language and Manners. But notwithstanding his Politeness and Gallantry, he got nothing but good Words from the Count Duke *d' Olivarez*, who then Govern'd *Spain*. The King order'd the Marshals *de la Force* and *Schomberg*, to march before him towards *Languedoc*, and enter the Province two several ways, to weaken *Orleans's* Army, by obliging him to divide. The Viscount *de la Strange*, who was raising a Regiment for him, being taken, was Condemn'd to Death by the Intendant, and Beheaded, notwithstanding the Remonstrances and Threats of *Gaston*, who was soon reduc'd himself to the Necessity of accepting the Conditions that were offer'd him. The Marshal *de Schomberg* having laid Siege to *St. Felix*, a small Place possess'd by the Duke *de Montmerency*, the Duke, who was brave to a Fault, resolv'd to relieve it. The Two Armies engag'd at *Castelnaudai*; that of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Montmerency*, animated by *Montmerency's* Example, at first had so much the better of the King's, that turning to the Duke of *Orleans*, he said, *The Day, Monsieur, is your own, you will Triumph over all your Enemies, and re-unite the Mother and the Son*, meaning the King and *Mary de Medicis*. But Fortune in a very little while declar'd for the other Side: The Superiority of Numbers, and their Experience prevail'd, and the Army of the Two Dukes was not only routed, but *Montmerency* wounded, and taken Prisoner. The Duke of *Orleans* retiring to *Beziers*, and being surrounded by the King's Forces, the Inhabitants of *Languedoc* throwing down their Arms,

and

and the Town throwing open their Gates, on Promise of Pardon, *Gaston* accepted the Conditions that *Bullion*, Counsellor of State, and the Cardinal's Creature, was order'd to make him. Accordingly, after a little wrangling on both Sides, the Treaty was Sign'd the 29th of *September*, 1632, and no Provision made for the Safety of *Monsieur de Montmerency*, who had so generously ventur'd his Life and large Fortune, in the Service of his Royal Highness and the Queen Mother. Nay, very few of his Followers were taken care of; the Duke *de Bellegarde*, the President *Le Coigneux* and *Monfigot*, were forbidden to follow him to *Tours*, where he was permitted to reside; and the Duke *d'Elbeuf* with much ado, got the Liberty to retire to one of his Country Seats. *Gaston* dismiss'd his Foreign Troops, having pawn'd his Plate to pay them, and his *French* Soldiers Disbanded of themselves. Two Days after the Treaty was Sign'd, the Duke of *Orleans* went to *Tours*, having left a Letter for *Richlieu*, wherein he disown'd the Manifesto he put forth when he enter'd the Kingdom, declaring 'twas written without his Knowledge. That is not all, he protested he never had an Esteem for the Cardinal's Eminent Virtues, and Important Services, even when he was most Angry with him. A Meanness one wou'd hardly have thought the Son of *Henry the Great* cou'd be Guilty of; but he confess'd afterwards, he did it only to save the Duke *de Montmerency*, and that never Prince of his Birth, fell into such a State of Dejection as he then did.

Lewis held the Assembly of the States of *Languedoc*, and after *Chateauneuf* had severely reprimanded them for the share they had in the late Rebellion, the King's Clemency in pardoning them was exaggerated, and his Royal Goodness, in Re-establishing their Privileges, and suppressing the Elects, at a time when they had so ill deserv'd it. The Truth was, the Court thought fit to humour them in things which they cou'd easily recal afterwards, that the Death of the Duke *de Montmerency* might not occasion new Troubles. For that Duke was extremely well

well-belov'd all over *France*, and especially in *Languedoc*, of which he was Governor. To be belov'd, and to deserve it, is a Terrible Crime, when such Ministers so haughty and hated as *Richlieu*, are in Authority. They envy that Affection of the People, which they seem to dispise more than others envy their Power, and will let no Opportunity slip of destroying them.

The Virtue of *Anne* of *Austria*, Mother to *Lewis* the XIVth, was not so much question'd by them, as by *Lewis* her Husband, whose Jealousy the Cardinal was always increasing by his Calumnies and Misrepresentations. It happen'd, that the Duke of *Montmerency* had that Queen's Picture in a Bracelet of Diamonds round his Arm when he was taken, which being told *Richlieu*, he presently acquainted the King with it, and gave it the worst Turn he cou'd, to render him inflexible to the Petitions he expected wou'd be presented him, in behalf of that Unfortunate Duke, who Wounded as he was, and not sure of recovering, was to be Sacrific'd to the Cardinal's Revenge. Several Lords of the King's Council, try'd to dispose him to Mercy, but *Richlieu*'s Council prevail'd against all of them. 'Twas no hard matter to make out his Process, he had treated with *Spain*, and was taken in Arms, wherefore *Lewis* declar'd he wou'd follow his Father's Example, in the Affair of the Mareschal de *Biron*, and prevent the Rebellion of the Great Lords for the future, by the Exemplary Punishment of *Montmerency*. He of himself inclin'd to Severity, and the Cardinal never let him learn any Lessons of Clemency and Humanity. *Gaston* hearing the Duke was order'd to *Toulouse*, in order to his Process, sent *Vaupot*, one of his Gentlemen, to the King, to demand his Pardon, in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans* his Master. *Vaupot* threw himself thrice at the King's Feet, to implore his Mercy for Monsieur de *Montmerency*, but he cou'd only get an Answer in general Terms. The next who came to interceed for him, was the Duke d' *Angouleme*'s Secretary, who was order'd to apply himself first to the Cardinal, who reply'd sternly,
What

Why does Monsieur d'Angouleme meddle with this Matter? This is an Affair of State, and not a Family Affair. The Count d'Aletz, the Duke d'Angouleme's Son, and the Duke de Retz, presented the Seretary to the King, and seconded his Instances; but Richlieu prevented their Endeavours having any good effect, telling them plainly, *Monsieur de Montmerency was become insupportable and so Envious, that he cou'd not endure to see any Body above him.* The Old Duke d'Epemon came from Guyenne to Toulouse, to Sollicite in behalf of his Friend the Duke de Montmerency; he fell down upon his Knees, and was beginning a long Speech, which he ended after his Majesty had rais'd him. The King did not seem to be at all sensible of any Thing he said to him, so he beg'd leave to return to Guyenne. *Ay, with all my Heart, says Lewis, I shall not stay here long my self.* D'Epemon was very much afflicted for the Misfortunes of his Friend, and went strait to the Princess of Conde, Montmerency's Sister, who was at her House near Toulouse, whither she had come with all Diligence to mediate for her Brother. But the King forbid her to come to Court while he stay'd at Toulouse, so she was forc'd to Sollicite by the Interposition of others. Cardinal Richlieu had been to Visit her, and was coming out of her House as the Duke d'Epemon came in,

The Cardinal, as great a Comedian as ever was, acted a Part then which made every Body laugh, as much as they were troubled for the Duke de Montmerency. A Gentleman sent privately by Richlieu, made as if he was in quest of a Friend of his at Cluzel, so the Princess's House was call'd, and search'd it very narrowly before Richlieu came thither. As he alighted out of his Coach, he cast his Eyes about as if he was in great disquiet and afraid of Assassins lying in wait for him; at last he went in, accompany'd by Bullion, his Confident, and going directly to the Princess's Chamber, she forgetting her Quality, threw herself at his Feet to soften his hard Heart and obtain his Intercession for her Brother;

Brother; Richlieu let her Kneel some time, and fell himself upon his Knees, Weeping as heartily as the Princess herself, and seem'd in mortal Affliction for that he cou'd not prevail with the King to shew Mercy to Monsieur de Montmerency; he promis'd her that he wou'd try again, *But that there may be the more hope of my Succeeding*, added he, pray, Madam, be pleas'd to let me advise you to remove a little farther from the City. That she might not have so many Opportunities to apply to the King by her Friends at a Court that was within a League of her. People of all Conditions mediated for Montmerency, *S. Previl*, the Officer who took him, and *du Chatalet*, mention'd in the Process of Mareschal de Marillac, fell both at the King's Feet, the Cardinal de La Valette did the same; and even the Duke de Chevreuse, who had so lately had a Quarrel with the Duke de Montmerency, appear'd as zealous for him as the best of his Friends. Publick Processions were made, at which several Persons of Quality assisted, to pray GOD to incline the King's Heart to Mercy. *Mercy, Mercy*, cry'd a Croud of People at the Gates of the Pallace. The King demanding what was the matter, the Mareschal de Charillon, who also interceded for the Mareschal de Montmerency, his Kinsman, said, Sir, *If your Majesty will look out of the Window, you will have Compassion on those Poor People, who implore your Clemency for Monsieur de Montmerency. If I shou'd do as the People wou'd have me, reply'd Lewis, I shou'd not act like a King.* Happy, ye People who have such a Monarch for your Master? Who will do what his Minister, and not what his Subjects wou'd have him. Are Subjects made only for the Passion of Princes? And Millions of Souls equal, all in the Eye of Heaven to that of the Prince, not to be consider'd when the Humour of their Master is against it? *If I shou'd do as the People wou'd have me.* For whom are Kings made but for their People, and shou'd not they do as these wou'd have them, whom they were made for? God the Judge of the World, will judge of these Things if Men must not, and to him let us leave the Decision

cision of a Cause that is not at all Times to be judged upon Earth.

One may very well wonder why the Prince of Conde does not all this while appear among those that interceded for his Brother-in-Law, but the fear of displeasing the Cardinal, added to the hope of so Rich a Succession as was that of *Montmerency*, which was likely to come to his Family, made him too Cold in this matter. He let his Wife mourn for both of them, and went, to hold an Assembly of the States of *Burgundy*, to whom he made a long Panegyrick on *Richlieu*, whose Hands were then red with the Blood of his Wife's Brother. The Heroick Behaviour of the Mareschal Duke de *Montmerency* from the beginning of his Process to the end of it, and to the Execution of his Sentence is a Glory to his Memory, which brightens it more than all the Actions of his Life. 'Tis so well known that I shall not enter into the Particulars, and take notice only of one or two that are most remarkable. *Chateaufort*, who had been his Father's Page, presided at his Examination and Condemnation. When the Duke appear'd first before him, he, according to Custom, ask'd his Name, *My Name*, reply'd *Montmerency*, *You ought to know it, you Eat long enough of my Father's Bread*. When the Mercenary Judges condemn'd him, they all wept, and even *Chateaufort*, who wou'd have condemn'd Ten such Dukes to have oblig'd *Richlieu*, cou'd not refrain some Tears when he sign'd the Arret. His Confessor, the Jesuit *Arnoux*, relating to the King, after the Mareschal Duke was Beheaded, several Particularities of his Death, added, *Your Majesty has made a great Example upon Earth by the Death of Monsieur de Montmerency, and GOD by his Mercy has made a great Saint in Heaven*. I wish, says *Lewis*, *I cou'd have contributed to his Salvation by milder Methods*. When the Count de *Charlus*, who was sent to fetch the Duke's Mareschal's Batoon, and Ribon of the Order, brought them to the King, *Lewis* was playing at Chess with Monsieur *Liancourt*, who burst out into Tears at the Sight of it,

as did all the Lords of the Court who were present; the King saw it with Displeasure. Their sorrows was a tacit Reproach of his Cruelty, but they cou'd not conceal their Grief, and all of them fell down at his Feet to beg Mercy for *Montmerency*, he reply'd, sullenly, *There's none for him, he must Die.* The Good God of Heaven be thank'd! that cruel Kings and Ministers can do no more, that they can kill the Body only, and that the Soul is above their Tyranny; *All the Favour I can grant him, continues Lewis the Just, is, that the Hangman shall not touch him, nor the Rope be put about his Shoulders.* *Montmerency* wou'd not accept of those wonderful acts of Grace. *I am a great Sinner, says he, and desire to be treated like other Criminals, the Innocent JESUS was bound with Cords.* All the Circumstances of this great Man's Death are equally Heroical and Christian, and never was Man more lamented.

The Queen Mother, at the suggestion of *Father Chanteloube*, had form'd a Plot to have *Combalet*, *Richlieu's* Niece, carry'd off, but it was discover'd before it cou'd be put in Execution. The Design was to keep her as an Hostage for the Duke de *Montmerency*, and if that was too late, to detain her in hopes of obliging *Richlieu*, who lov'd her tenderly, not to oppose the return of his Benefactress to *France*. When *Lewis* heard of this Project, he was mightily enrag'd, and order'd Process to be made out against Nine or Ten of the Accomplices who had been apprehended. He declar'd, that if they had taken *Combalet*, he wou'd have gone in Person and demanded her of the Infanta *Isabella* at the Head of 50000 Men. The Cardinal, to be reveng'd of *Mary de Medicis*, perswaded the King to press the Infanta to deliver up *Father Chanteloube* and the Abbot de *St. German*, Authors of most of the Satyrical Pieces that came out against him, which had as much Truth in them as Satyr. *Combalet*, to make herself Popular, petition'd the King in favour of those that were prosecuted on her Account, and heartily frighten'd as she

she was, left the stately Pallace of *Luxemburgh*, which the Cardinal had resign'd to her, to live with him under the security of his Guards. The Palace *Combalet* left, had been given to him by *Mary de Medicis*, on Condition she shou'd have it again when she wou'd, paying down 30000 Livres; *Mary de Medicis* re-demanded it, but the Cardinal pretended that by the Contract she was not to have it without the King's Consent, and paying him down 30000 Crowns; the Queen Mother said the Deed he produc'd was falsify'd. However, *Lewis* supported the Cardinal's Pretences against his Mother's, who had the Mortification to hear *Combalet* kept a sort of Court in her House, and did what she pleas'd in it.

Now was the Prodigious Fortune of *Richlieu* at such a height, that he aspir'd to the Name and Dominion, as well as to the Authority of a Sovereign; he had form'd a Project to erect a Principality out of part of the Country of *Austrasia*, where *Charles Martel* and his Children laid the foundation of their Usurpation. His Design was to get the Bishoprick of *Metz* into his Hands some way or other, and to annex to it five or six good Abbeys in its Neighbourhood; to this was to be added the Government of the three Bishopricks of *Lorraine* and their Citadels, as also *Stenay* and *Jametz*; *Sedan* was to have been taken from the Duke de *Bouillon*, he was to buy *Charleville* and *Mont Olimpe*. In a word, to secure himself a good Settlement in the Frontiers strong enough to defend him in case of any Revolution at Court. *Lorraine* and *Alsace* were also to be added to those Cities and Countries, the latter by means of the *Svedes*, with whom he corresponded. In order to this, he sent his Confident *Bullion* from *Toulouse* to begin to put his Project in Execution, by tempting the Duke d' *Epemon* to exchange the Government of *Metz* for the Survivancy of *Gueynne*, promis'd in that Case to the Duke de la *Vallette*, d' *Epemon's* Son; but the Duke d' *Epemon* thought his Services deserv'd that Survivancy without parting with so Important a Government as was that of *Metz*,

Metz, and wou'd not hear of the exchange, which put a stop to, and in the end ruin'd the Cardinal's Ambitious Project. For without securing *Metz*, the east Country that he had laid out for the Seat of his Empire cou'd not be secur'd, and to dispute it too much, with so Proud and Obstinate a Man as that Duke was, might give Umbrage. *Richlieu* taking *Gueynne* in his way as he return'd to *Paris*, was treated with great Honour by *d' Epernon*, but as he was Governor of the Province, he took several occasions to let the Cardinal know he was Master there. *Richlieu* extreamly mortify'd at the Duke's refusing to treat with him about *Metz*, and at his haughty Carriage towards him, conceiv'd an incurable Jealousy and Hatred of him; but the Cardinal *de la Valette* continuing his Favourite still, the Consequences of it were not so Pernicious as otherwise they might have been.

The Duke of *Orleans* was so enrag'd, that all his Solicitations to save Monsieur *de Montmerency* had been ineffectual, resolv'd again to leave *France*, which he did a Month after the Treaty of *Beziers*, accompany'd by *Puylaurens*, the Count *du Fargis*, Monsieur *Sauvebeuf*, and about Twenty Horse. He arriv'd at *Brussels* in *January* 1633. and thence dispatch'd Envoys to the Courts of *Vienna*, *England* and *Madrid*, to give the Reasons for his returning again to the *Netherlands*, and to desire their Assistance. We must leave him a while at *Brussels*, and return to the Court of *France*, where *Richlieu* triumphing over the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, and the great Lords of the Kingdom, laid a Plan of Agrandizing that Monarchy, as well Abroad as at Home. To weaken the House of *Austria*, he always kept a close Correspondence with *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and after his Death, with *Wallestein*, then in a Conspiracy to ravish part of the Empire from his Master, the German Emperor, and to lay the Foundation of a New Kingdom. *Lewis* supply'd *Gustavus* with Money, and when afterwards upon his Death, the *Germans* began to recover their lost Ground, *Richlieu*, as zealous a Catholick as he was, enter'd

into Negotiations with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to support them by the Assistance of the *French* and the *Swedes*, but on Condition that *Alsace* was put into *Lewis's* Hands to extend the Frontiers of *France* on that side; and on the side of *Flanders*, he at the same time propos'd a Division of the *Netherlands*, between the *French* and the *Dutch*, in Consideration of *Lewis's* declaring War against *Spain*. The Conquest of *Roussillon* was to make the *Pirenees* the Bounds of *France* towards *Spain*, and the Acquisition of *Pignerol* open'd a Door for her to invade *Italy* at Pleasure. If *Richlieu* did not form a Project for the Universal Monarchy, he thought at least of extending the Dominion of *France* as far as was that of the Ancient *Gaules*. He was often heard to talk of Annexing all the Territories that had been subject to them to the Crown. A Thousand Years Possession were not enough to give any Prince a Right, tho' the *French* had the least Pretence of any to a Divine one by Descent, the House of *Lorraine* being the Elder Branch of that of *France*.

How far he might then have carry'd his Ambitious Designs, if he had not been embroil'd with Domestick Affairs, by means of the Queen Mother, and the Duke of *Orleans*, one may imagine by the Success of those that have prosecuted them since, for 'twas on *Richlieu's* bottom that all the *French* Politicians, and even their great Master *Lewis* the XIVth, have since built.

Tho' the Cardinal had come off with Tryumph in the last Troubles, yet as long as the King's Mother and Brother were in a Foreign Court, and had Intelligence with his Enemies in *France*, he did not think himself entirely safe. While *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* were in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, they wou'd doubtless have made great use of it in Case of an open Rupture with *Spain*, which the *Swedes* and *Dutch* mightily insisted upon. To get the Queen Mother out of their Hands, *Richlieu* tempted *Gondi*, the *Florentine* Envoy, to perswade his Master to invite her to *Florence* ;
but

but the great Duke was in no better Disposition to put himself to that Expence, than *Mary de Medicis* was to accept of it. She was indeed weary of having been so long a Charge to the Infanta, and Negotiated with the King of England for her Reception at the Court of *Charles* the First, or Ships to Convoy her to Spain; but as her Design in going to Spain, was to joyn *Gaston* in *Languedoc*, the ill Success of that Enterprize made her alter her Resolution, and England was the Place she had most mind to retire to. But the English were not of a Humour to entertain a Popish Princess, and her residing long at London, could not but create ill Blood, as her coming there did afterwards. *Richlieu* gave *Gondi* to understand, it would be very well taken, if the great Duke could prevail with the Queen to live some time at Florence; *Gondi* would not charge himself with that disagreeable Negotiation, and the Cardinal was forc'd to give over all thoughts of getting rid of the Queen Mother so easily.

We have seen what a Tool the Keeper of the Seals, *Chateaufneuf*, has been to the Minister, how he has Sacrific'd, in a few Months time, Two Marshalls of France to the Cardinal's Revenge; how he gave himself up to him Soul and Body, as we are told; Witches bargain with the Devil; yet hearing his Patron was dangerously ill at *Bordeaux*, the Keeper flattering himself that he should succeed him in the Ministry, and the good Graces of the Dutchess *de Chevreuse*, could not help flying out into Transports of Joy; insomuch that forgetting his Character, as a Magistrate and a Priest, he fell to Dancing of Jigs and showing the Pleasure the News gave him in a Hundred Antick Motions, which the Cardinal's Spies gave him a faithful Account of. One of the Keeper's Letters to the Dutchess, wherein the Reverend Magistrate most delicately rally'd on the Hemorrhoids *Richlieu* was troubl'd with, calling him *Cu Pourri*, Rotten Tail, was intercepted and given him. The Cardinal returning in good Health to Court, as easily prevail'd with the King to take

the Seals from *Chateauneuf*, as he had prevail'd with him to give them him; so on the 25th of February, *la Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, and the Marquis de *Gordes*, Captain of the Guards, were order'd, the one to demand the Seals of him, and the other to Arrest him. For 'tis observable that none of these wicked Instruments of *Richlieu's* Ministry were ever disgrac'd; but they, and their Friends, were thrown into Prison. Happy if they escap'd the Gallows at the Price of their Fortune. *Chateauneuf* was shut up in the Castle of *Angouleme*, the Marquis de *Leuville*, his Nephew, the Chevalier *Le Jars*, his Confident, and others, sent to the *Bastille*, and his Brother, the Marquis de *Hauterive*, sav'd himself in *Holland*. The Mareschal d' *Etrees*, as great a Soldier as he was, hearing of the Disgrace of his intimate Friend, the Keeper, was so afraid of the Cardinal, that he fled out of the Dominions of *France*, leaving the City of *Treves* and the Troops he Commanded there, without a General and Governor. But recollecting himself afterwards, he sent a Gentleman to beg the King's Pardon, and the Cardinal's; ingenuously confessing what it was that made him quit *Treves* with so much Precipitation: They both frankly forgave him, and he was order'd to return to his Post. The Dutchesse de *Chevreuse* was banish'd the Court for calling the Cardinal *Cu Pouri*; and *Peter Sequier*, President of the Parliament of *Paris*, had the Seals given him, with the Promise of the Title of Chancellor, after the Death of Monsieur *Aligre*, who was still confin'd to one of his Seats in the Country.

Having mention'd the fright the Mareschal d' *Etrees* was in, upon occasion of the Keeper's Disgrace, may we not very well conclude that many more were in mortal Terrors. The late Example of the brave Duke de *Montmerency*, intimidating the boldest Spirits at the thoughts of the Power and Cruelty of *Richlieu*. The wicked Magistrates of the Parliament of *Dijon*, condemn'd a Gentleman to the Gallies, for no other Crime, but being of the Duke of *Orleans's* Party, they also condemn'd the Duke of *Elbeuf*;

Elbeuf, Puytaurens, du Coudrai, Montpensier, and Goulas, Persons of Quality and Merit, to Death, for Contumacy, and they were Beheaded in Effigy at Dijon. Laffemas, Intendant of the Army in Champagne, one of the infamous Judges that murder'd the Marechal de Marillac, prosecuted several Gentlemen at Troies as Followers of the King's only Brother, the Presumptive Heir to the Crown. He was put into a Commission on purpose with the Presidial of Troies, and those Gentlemen were condemn'd for Contumacy, some to be broken on the Wheel, and others to be Beheaded. Le Jars, before mention'd, was sent from the Bastille to Troies, to be try'd by Laffemas; but his Fellow Judges cou'd not find any Crime in him which deserv'd Death. Laffemas assur'd them, that the Condemning him was only to terrify him, for it was intended to give him a Reprieve on the Scaffold. Upon this the Chevalier had Sentence of Death pronounc'd upon him. He was accordingly led to the Scaffold, and when the Executioner was going to do his Duty, they cry'd out a Pardon, a Pardon; then Laffemas came up to Le Jars, highly extol'd the King's Clemency, and exhorted him to reveal the pretended Intrigue of Chateaufneuf. Le Jars reply'd with a great deal of Courage, *I see through your base and wicked Contrivances, you thought to take an Advantage of the Terror which this near prospect of Death would cause in me; know your Men better, I am now as much my own Master as ever I was in my Life. Monsieur de Chateaufneuf is a very honest Man, and has serv'd his Majesty well, I always believ'd so, and if I knew any Thing to the contrary, nothing should make me discover what my Friends had confided to me.* Le Jars was brought back to Paris, and thrown again into the Bastille, where he and the Marquis de Leuville remain'd a long time Victims to the Pride and Resentment of Richlieu.

The Cardinal did not only keep France in continual Motion, by his restless Ambition, he influenc'd the Affairs Abroad as well as at Home, and treated particularly by his Emissaries with the Imperial

General *Wallestein*, to betray his Master the Emperor. *Lewis* himself wrote a Letter to that Traytor, which being very Curious, I shall give an Extract of it.

A Letter from *Lewis* the XIIIth, to *Wallestein*, the Imperial General.

COUSIN,

YOUR Affection for the Publick Good, and the Peace of Christendom, is so agreeable to me, that I could no longer omit testifying to You my Acknowledgment, and my desire to see all Your Designs brought to a happy Issue. I have order'd the Bearer of this Letter to treat with You in my Name, and give You all possible Assurances of my good Will and Esteem for You, and discover to you my Thoughts on the Affairs of Germany. The Success of Your good Intentions will give me great Joy, and I shall support them against all that wou'd oppose them. I pray You to give Credit to the Person that brings You this Letter, and to believe that Your Interests are as dear to me as my own.

At the same time was *Wallestein* at the point of succeeding in the most dangerous Conspiracy that ever was form'd against the House of Austria; no less than to corrupt the Army he was intrusted with to oppose the Victorious Swedes, to declare himself King of *Bohemia* and other Countries, and to joyn the Swedes and French to ruin the Austrian Power in Germany, which wou'd not have establish'd his own; but have exalted the Bourbon to a greater Empire. Are the Interests of such a Villain as dear to *Lewis* the Just as his own? Were *Wallestein's* Designs for the Good and Peace of Christendom? What did *Lewis* himself say of him a little after, when he heard he was kill'd? May all such Traytors dye so.

Feuquieres

Feuquieres was the Agent employ'd to engage *Wallestein* to rebel against the Emperor, and to promise that the *French* shou'd make a Diverſion in his Favour. There was then an open Breach between the Emperor and the *French* King, yet was *Feuquieres* not only to offer him Men, but Money, as 300000 Livers immediately if he wanted them, and a Million yearly, if he wou'd keep up an Army of 30000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. *Lewis* wou'd not aſſiſt *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, Lawfully Elected King of that Country, but he offers to aſſiſt *Wallestein* to obtain that Crown *Uſurp'd contrary to Law*, as was then ſaid. While this Negotiation was carrying on, a Treaty of Accommodation was ſet on Foot between the Emperor and King of *Spain* on one Hand, and *Lewis* the XIIIth on the other, by the Intervention of the Pope. The *French* Mi-niſter ſpoke as fair as ill Men do when they have Miſchief in their Heads, and cannot without Deceit accompliſh it. Things being in this poſture Abroad, the Empire involv'd in the *Swediſh* and Confederate War, *Spain* in that of the *Netherlands*, and *Lorrain* in no Condition to do *France* any Injury, *Richlieu* purſu'd his darling Paſſion of Revenge on his abſent Enemies.

On the 12th of *April*, 1633. he cauſ'd the King to take his Royal Seat in the Parliamēt of *Paris*, attended by himſelf, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Dukes *de Chevreuſe*, *de Monbazon*, *de Briſac*, and *de Chaulnes*, the Mareſchals *de la Force*, *de Tremes*, and *de Villequier*, and the Marquis *de Gordes*, Captain of the Guards. The Deſign of it was to deprive *Richlieu's* Enemies, the Preſident *Le Coigneux*, and other Followers of the Duke of *Orleans*, of their Places with the greater *Eclat*, and make the Cardinal's Vengeance the more Pompous. *Le Coigneux* was not only depriv'd of his Seat in Parliamēt, but ſolemnly condemn'd of High Treason, as were alſo *Monſieur des Landes-Paien*, Secretary to the King's Mother, and *Monſieur*, the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother's Secretary. After this ſeveral Promotions were made, and a New Order erected, call'd the *Order*

of the Holy Ghost, of which were the greatest Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the greatest Generals of France. The Marechal de Toiras was Nam'd to be one of them, but the Cardinal hating him for his Bravery and Merit, found means to hinder his having it, by getting an Order, that it shou'd be given to none that were not present at the Solemnity. Toiras depending on his Services, Fidelity, and the good Will of his Prince, thought to support himself in an Independance on the Cardinal. Richlieu cou'd not bear the least Competitor of that kind, and took hold of the first Opportunity to ruin him, which was that of the Irruption of Gaston into Languedoc, where Two of Toiras's Brothers, of whom one was Bishop of Nismes, declar'd for the Duke of Orleans, and the Malicious Richlieu insinuated to Lewis, That if Monsieur de Toiras's Brothers imagin'd he wou'd have been displeas'd at what they had done, they wou'd not have hazarded his Protection and Friendship, owing, as they did, their Advancement to him, and depending entirely upon him. The Marechal, who was generally esteem'd and belov'd, had Intimation of the Cardinal's ill Offices, and wrote a very respectful Letter to him, disowning his Brother's Actions. He also sent his Steward to justify his Conduct to the King and the Minister. Richlieu answer'd the one, and receiv'd the other very civilly and obligingly, as was his way; when he had a Design against any one. His Answer to the Marechal, will shew us what Baleness such a wicked Mind is capable of. *I am glad, said he, that all the World will see you are not deceiv'd in my Judgement of you; that the Fault of your Brother wou'd be an extreme Affliction to you: The King is convinc'd of your Fidelity and Affection for the good of the State: If you wanted Security on these Two Articles, I wou'd willingly be engag'd for you. I know your Humour, you are sometimes too subject to be a little Passionate, but 'tis soon over, and I'll answer for you; you will never do any thing which one might not expect from an Honest Man. T'eut-il jamais une plus Grand Sceleratesse,*

says

lays a Country-man of his, *Was there ever a greater Piece of Villany?* At the same time that Richlieu wrote thus to the Mareschal de Toiras, he insinuated to the King, *That if the Mareschal did not declare against him, 'twas because he did not like the rash Proceedings of Monsieur, and the Duke de Montmerenci. That he found too great difficulty in making himself Master of Cazal, without delivering up the Place to the Spaniards, from whom he took it, which he did not care to do if he cou'd help it.* A great many other Insinuations, the Effects of his Malice and Invention, did he fill the King's Head with; but what he thought wou'd make sure work, he told him the Mareschal was so Insolent, as to suffer Disputes in his Presence, on the *Seditious Question* of the *Authority of Parliaments*. Upon these continual Suggestions to his Prejudice, it was resolv'd to remove him from the Command of the Forces in *Italy*. But for fear he might be provok'd to enter into the Service of the House of *Austria*, or joyn the Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal pretended that the recalling him, was only to give him the Government of *Auvergne*, vacant by the Death of the Mareschal d' *Effiat*. Toiras did not want Friends, who let him know what was intended against him, and he said publicly, *If they demanded his Government of Cazal, he wou'd know before he parted with it, whether his Services shou'd be rewarded or not. If the latter, he wou'd seek his Fortune in Germany, where the Emperor wou'd not refuse him an Employment.* Richlieu hearing of it, got the King to give him the Government of *Auvergne*. and to pardon his Two Brothers at his Request. Upon which the Mareschal seem'd satisfy'd, and the Cardinal to get him out of *Italy*, had him Nam'd to be one of the New Knights of the Order of *St. Michael*. The Mareschal, as was requir'd, prov'd his Nobility, and expected the blew Ribon shou'd have been sent to him, but Richlieu wou'd have him make his Appearance in Person to receive it, and he not doing it, 'twas not given him, as has been already hinted. The Cardinal being disappointed of his Prey, for he intended to have him shut

shut up in the *Bastille*, Quarrell'd with him openly, got his New Government of *Auvergne* to be taken from him, as also his Old one of *Cazal*. The *Mareschal* as Poor, and as Content in his Disgrace, as the Famous *Belisarius*, refus'd the Advantageous Offers made him by the Emperor and King of *Spain*, went first to *Rome*, and then settled at *Turin*, where he was receiv'd by the Duke and Dutcheſs, with all the marks of Distinction due to a Person of his rare Merit, of whom the Learned *Grotius* ſays in one of his Letters, *That the Mareschal's Enemies, were Enemies to Virtue it ſelf*. A Character that *Richlieu*, Prime Miniſter to this King *Lewis the Juſt*, will deſerve during the remaining Part of his Miniſtry, as well as he has hitherto done.

Let us now ſee how this Juſt Prince answers the Character of Juſtice, with reſpect to his Mother, a Banish'd Diſtreſs'd Princeſs, who had left *Brussels* out of Diſguſt, to live at a Court on which ſhe depended, and remov'd to *Ghent*, as a Place, where not ſeeing her Proteſtrefs, the *Infanta Iſabella*, ſhe might fancy herſelf in a little more Independance. The ill Air of that Marſhy Country, threw her into a Sickneſs, which threaten'd her Life: When *Lewis* heard of it, he diſpatch'd *Des Roches Fumee* with a ſhort and cold Letter, but wou'd not ſend her Phyſician *Vaultier*, tho' the *Infanta* frequently deſir'd it by her Miniſter, at the Requeſt of his Mother. *Richlieu* bad *Des Roches* repreſent to *Mary de Medicis*, the mighty Affliction he was in for the ill State of her Health, and the ill will ſhe bore him, which was ſo near his Heart, that he cou'd not ſpeak of it without Tears. He alſo charg'd him to let the Queen know how he wept, and that the only way for her to put it into his Power to ſerve her, was to Banish ſuch of her Servants as the King did not Love. The Traytor! He had by Form of Law taken off ſome of her beſt Friends, driven others into Banishment, depriv'd many of their Offices and Eſtates, ſhut up great Numbers in Priſon, entirely alienated the Affection of her Son, and yet if you will believe him, *She has not ſo Zealous and ſo Faithful a Servant*

vant as himself. The Man he aim'd at most, was
 the Abbot *St. Germain*, whose Writings continually
 gall'd him; and while he employ'd a Set of *Label-
 lers*, as the Bishop of *St. Malo*, the Capuchin *Jo-
 seph, Balzac, Du Chatelet*, and others, to vilify her
 with Impunity, she must not suffer her Innocence to
 be vindicated, and his Wickedness to be expos'd.
Des Roches was order'd not only not to speak to se-
 veral of the Queen Mother's Domesticks, as Father
Chanteloube, Des Landes-Paien, and St. Germain,
 but to turn his Back on them if they spoke to
 him, which *Des Roches* exactly observ'd, and made a
 rude return to *Des Landes's* Civilities. The Queen
 was so offended, that she had him tell the Cardinal,
*That his Complements were more Troublesome to her
 than his Persecution.* *Des Roches* had Orders to
 Treat of an Accommodation between the King and
 his Mother, but she was dissuaded from it by *Or-
 nano* her Confident, and Father *Chanteloube*. They
 frighten'd her with the Name of *Vincennes*, where
 they said *Richlieu* wou'd not fail to have her con-
 fin'd. *Ornano* had a Pension of 1000 Livres a Month,
 and *Chanteloube* Fifteen Crowns a Day, which was
 more than they cou'd expect in *France*, besides the
 Danger they wou'd be in from the Cardinal's Re-
 sentment. *Des Roches* offer'd *Mary de Medicis*
 Money, in the Name of the King, but she wou'd not
 accept of it, saying, *She was very well us'd by the
 King of Spain, her Son-in-Law, who took Care she
 shou'd want for nothing*: And to let *Richlieu* see she
 was far from intending to have any other Condi-
 tions from the King, than what she had all along in-
 sisted upon, his Removal, she sent an Answer to the
 King's Express, by a Messenger of her own, ma-
 king Choice of the Person he knew wou'd be most
 ungrateful to him, *Hertaut*, a Creature of *Chan-
 teloube's*, the very Man that had presented her Peti-
 tion against him to the Parliament. She was so irri-
 tated against *Richlieu*, that she never made mention
 of him before *Des Roches*, but with some biting
 Epithet. The Cardinal finding nothing was to be
 done with her by Dissimulation, resolv'd to humble
 her

her still more, and force her to truckle to him by further ill Usage. To divide the Duke of *Orleans* from her Interests, he caus'd it to be told him, that *Mary de Medicis* was underhand Treating of an Accommodation. *Delbene*, one of the Duke's Domesticks, kept a secret Correspondence with *Richlieu*, in hopes of saving his Uncle the Bishop of *Alby*, who had been in *Montmerency's* Insurrection. *Paylaurens* being inform'd of this Private Treaty by *Delbene*, charg'd him to find out what Terms would be offer'd the Duke of *Orleans*, in case he would come to an Accommodation; and in order to it, he was not long after sent to *Paris*, to make Proposals in the Name of Monsieur, which were very submissive. Among the rest, *Paylaurens* offer'd to abandon his Mistrels, the Princess of *Phatezburgh*, Sister to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and marry any Relation, tho' the Poorest of the Cardinal's, which made *Richlieu* hearken to him, and to pretend to be very much concern'd for the Success of his Negotiation; tho' in the main he design'd only to create a Jealousy between *Mary de Medicis* and her Son *Gaston*, and the Effect answer'd his Design; for the Queen having Intimation of her Son's separate Treaty, hasten'd from *Ghent* to *Brussels*, to be near and observe him: There it came to a Quarrel and open Defiance, both declaring they would not be concern'd for each other, but Treat apart; the Consequences of which will be seen hereafter.

The Cardinal reckoning himself pretty secure against any Attacks from that Quarter, assum'd still a more Imperious Air than ever, and even out of Wantonness of Revenge, forc'd the Old Duke of *Epernon* to quit the Seat of his Government, and retire to a House of his in the Province of *Guyenne*. *Sourdis*, Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux*, cou'd never agree with the Duke, and being about to leave the Court, to reside for a while in his Diocess out of meer Decency, before he departed, he desir'd to know how he shou'd behave himself with respect to the Governor of the Province, and whether he might depend on the Cardinal's Protection, if it came to an

an Open Rupture, which was what *Richlieu* desired; and therefore having advis'd him to pay his Compliments to the Duke on his Arrival, he told him, *If he does not return them, and affects to be Troublesome to you, rest assur'd that I will protect you with all my Credit. Be not afraid to resist him openly, when you seem to have Justice and Reason on your Side. He is a Man whose Pride and Haughtiness ought to be mortify'd. I have resolv'd to do it sensibly, when he ever so little transgresses his Duty.* This Advice agreed exactly with the proud Prelate, who, when he arriv'd at *Bordeaux*, sent a Gentleman, as he had concerted, to complement *D' Epernon*, and thank him for some good Offices in which he had oblig'd him. Tell your Master, reply'd the Duke, *He had no need to thank a Person who never thought of obliging him. If any thing has been done by my Order, to the Advantage of the Arch Bishop, 'twas out of Justice only, and not out of Friendship.* *D' Epernon* wou'd not let the Jurats of *Bordeaux* wait upon the Arch-Bishop, as was the Custom when he Landed; and to Insult him the more, made his Servants buy their Fish at a Market belonging to him, as others did, and wou'd not allow him the Choice of it. Nay, on a Fish-Day, he order'd his Men to hinder any Fishmonger's carrying Fish into the Archiepiscopal Palace, because the Arch-Bishop wou'd not suffer his Servants to buy in Common. These Trifles prov'd a Matter of more Mortification to *D' Epernon*, than any of the Troubles he had been involv'd in. The Arch-Bishop complain'd to the Magistrates of this Violence, and threaten'd to leave the City, together with his Clergy, if Provision was not made for his Security. A Day or two after, *Naugas*, Lieutenant of the Duke's Guards, was order'd to go to him, and demand of him, if he thought he, or any one belonging to his Master, was capable of doing an ill Action, on purpose to affront him. *Naugas* met the Arch-Bishop coming by in his Coach, but *Sordis* wou'd not hear him. *Naugas* stopt the Coach, and the Arch-Bishop in a Fright alighted,

and

and ran Home a Foot, crying out he was Attack'd, and his Life in Danger. Immediately he Excommunicated *Naugas*, and went about the Streets of *Bordeaux*, endeavouring to raise a Mutiny. The Duke *D' Epernon* hearing it, went presently in Search of him, and when he came up with him, took him by the Arm, held up his Cane at him, and ask'd him how he durst put the Town in an Up-roar. *Strike Tyrant*, says *Sourdis*, *Thy Blows will be Flowers and Roses to me, thou art Excommunicated*: He meant as an Accomplice of *Naugas's*. The Duke struck the Arch-Bishop's Hat off with his Cane, saying, *You do not know the Respect you owe me, I wou'd teach it you, if it was not out of Respect to your Character*. *Epernon* went home with as much Indifference as if nothing had happen'd. *Sourdis* Excommunicated him, and Interdicted the Province. He dispatch'd a Messenger to the Cardinal, to inform him of what had pass'd. *Richlieu* aggravated the Duke's Insulting the Arch-Bishop, to a Bigotted King, who order'd *D' Epernon* to remove from *Bordeaux*, and confine himself to *Plassat*, a Place out of his Province. *Sourdis* having done this Notable Exploit, went to Court, and took an Occasion to pass by *Plassat*, to Triumph over the Proudest Lord in *France*, who cou'd hardly forbear falling upon him for his Insolence. Thus did the Cardinal humble a Man whom nothing, cou'd till then Humble; and the other Lords saw 'twas in vain for them to oppose him, when the most Powerful Peer in *France* was so disgrac'd for a Trifle. Such will be the Fate of all Kingdoms, where Haughty and Revengeful Ministers have the Government, and Imperious Priests have the good Luck to have their Interests; and those of the State, thought to be inseparable.

The Duke *D' Epernon* was not the only Proud Man whom *Richlieu* humbled. The Duke of *Lorraine* having offended him, by continuing to favour the Duke of *Orleans's* Party, and *Lewis* being enrag'd to hear that his Brother had marry'd that Princess's Sister, it was resolv'd to Invade *Lorraine*,
and

and even to Besiege *Nancy* the Capital. The Duke of *Lorraine* hearing of the King's Approach, at the Head of a good Army, sent his Brother Cardinal *Francis* of *Lorraine*, to treat with him. I shall not enter into the Particulars of the Conferences between the Two Cardinals. *Richlieu* demanded *Nanci* to be deposited in *Lewis's* Hands, as a Security for the Duke's good Conduct. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* pretended his Brother cou'd not yeild it up without the Emperor's Consent, that Dutchy being a Fief of the Empire: Upon which, *Richlieu* enter'd into a way of Argument that has been ever since us'd by the Court and Ministry of *France*, when they thought themselves strong enough to back it by Arms. As to *Lorraine's* being a Fief of the Empire, says he, The King is so far from allowing it, that he pretends the Sovereignty belongs to him, and that Homage is due to him. The Empire long ago Usurp'd it from the Crown of *France*, but length of Possession, my Lord, gives no Right against Sovereign's, against whom, there's no Prescription, they acknowledge no Superior Tribunal, before whom their Rights are to be Judg'd. They may always Claim them, and enter upon them by Force. The Affairs of *France* did not formerly permit our Kings to assert their Rights. God has now given his Majesty the Means to restore the French Monarchy to its Ancient Grandeur. Will not Posterity have Cause to blame the King, if he neglects to recover those of his Predecessors, and does not employ the Power of his Arms to that purpose? Here's Reasoning, here's Argument: We must know by the way, that the House of *Lorraine* is the Elder Branch of the *Carolovingian* Race, that have Reign'd in *France* since *Charlemagne's* Time, and being set aside in the Course of Descent, they possess'd the Dutchy of *Lorraine* a Fief of the Empire, which was also Govern'd for a while by the Descendants of *Charles the Great*, but *Lewis the Just* of *France*, is stronger than *Charles the IVth* of *Lorraine*. He has an Army advancing towards *Nanci*, the Duke has none to oppose him; the promis'd Succours
from

from *Germany* and *Spain*, cannot arrive time enough to prevent the Town's being taken, and what a Bluster the *French* Minister makes, with the *Grandeur* of the *French* Monarchy, the *Rights* of the *Crown*, and the *Means* to recover them? How well taught the King was by the Cardinal, in the *Rights* of *Succession*, one may perceive by his Answer to the *English* Ambassador, who set forth the *Violence* of this Expedition, *That King Dagobert had been Master of Stratzburgh*. Durst any of his Predecessors have rally'd thus with a Minister of *Henry* the *VIIIth*, or his Daughter, *Queen Elizabeth*? Durst a *French* Man, or even a *French* King, have banter'd an Ambassador of *England*, after the *Glorious* Days of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*? What signify'd *English* Mediation, when it was become a Jest, from the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*, to the Reign of *King William*? If we Mediated for any one, it signify'd no more than the Mediation of *Mr. Petkum*, when all the mighty Powers of *Europe* were at War. 'Twas in the Reign of *King Charles* the First, that *Lewis* the *XIIIth* told the *English* Minister, *Dagobert had been Master of Stratzburgh*. A Pretence so absurd, that among all the absurd Pretences of his Son *Lewis* the *XIVth* to keep it, there has been none started so Insolent as this. I hope the Reputation of *England* cannot after so many Victories, sink again so low, as to expose us to be banter'd by the *French*, when we interceed for our Neighbours. Sure I am it was not many Years ago, that *France* rejoyc'd, when any Body wou'd interceed for her, and the same Power is still in being, and the same General Lives still, that wou'd make her Serious, tho' another *Rich-lieu* was in the Ministry.

All the Cardinal of *Lorraine*'s Reasons and Entreaties, were to no purpose, he only beg'd that the King wou'd advance no nearer to *Nanci*, till he had made his Report to his Brother. *Lewis* answer'd him surlily, *I am sorry, Sir, I cannot grant what you demand of me, I am resolv'd I will be before Nanci as soon as possible, and not leave it,*

till I have reduc'd the Town to my Obedience. The Cardinal of Lorraine came again, and offer'd to give up the Dutchess of Orleans into his Possession. but Richlieu told him, That unless the Duke of Lorraine was ruin'd, let them do what they wou'd to dissolve the Marriage, 'twou'd subsist still; and with other such Arguments prevail'd on him not to come to any Accommodation, without having Nanci deliver'd up to him. Lewis however, gave the Cardinal of Lorraine good Words, and offer'd him a Pension suitable to his Quality, if he wou'd live in France. The Duke his Brother, being inform'd of the King's Obstinacy, 'twas resolv'd to try to mollify Richlieu, by proposing a Marriage between his Neice Combalet, and Cardinal Francis, to whom Duke Charles was to resign the Dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, and put the Princess Margaret, Gaston's Wife, into his Hands. This was however, a Pretence only, yet Charles went so far, as to cause the Act of Renunciation to be drawn; but Richlieu, who knew very well that the Duke de Feria was marching with an Army of Spaniards, Germans and Italians, to the Relief of the Duke of Lorraine, and that the latter only wanted to gain Time, put off the Treaty of Combalet's Marriage, to another Opportunity; and having return'd a handsome Complement to Cardinal Francis for the Honour he did him in proposing it, and given him hopes, that the yeilding up the Dutchess of Orleans, wou'd facilitate a Peace, he concluded that to secure all; the King insisted on having Nanci deliver'd to him. For, says he, to speak freely, my Lord, I have sometimes good Intelligence: Are you Master of your Sister's Person? I believe verily she is at this Time got out of Nanci, and perhaps in the King of Spain's Territories. The Cardinal of Lorrains pretended to know nothing of the matter, but finding he could obtain nothing of Richlieu concerning what he came about, the preventing the Loss of Nanci, he return'd to his Brother, and carry'd off that Princess next Morning, through the French Guards, by Virtue of a Pass, he had to go to and fro, for carrying

rying on the Treaty. When the Marriage of Combalet was propos'd in the King's Council, Richlieu, who perceiv'd 'twas an Artifice of the Duke of Lorraine, made use of to cajole him, affected a most admirable Spirit of Disinterest. God forbid, said he, *that the Present, or Future Times, should reproach me for mixing my Interests, or those of my Relations, in an Enterprize. I only advis'd for the Service of the King, and the Good of the State.* Cardinal d' Amboise did an irreparable Injury to his Reputation, when, out of Ambition to make himself Pope, he perswaded Lewis the XIIIth to carry Arms into Italy. *It shall never be said that the Cardinal de Richlieu acted like the Cardinal d' Amboise.* 'Twas in this Lorraine Expedition, that Lewis the XIIIth erected the Parliament of Metz, where his Son Lewis the XIVth, first set up his Chamber of Reunion, to annex several Countries to France, as pretending they belong'd to her by Hereditary Right, from Dagobert, or other their Predecessors, even of the Fable, as well as History. Bretagne, one of the Mareschal de Marillac's Packt and Mercenary Judges, was made First President of the Parliament, as a Reward for the Hand he had in the Murder of that Noble Man.

At a Fourth Conference, the French Army beginning to streighten Nanci, the Two Cardinals of Lorraine and Richlieu, agreed on certain Articles of Accommodation, the Chief of which were, That the Duke shou'd not meddle in the Affairs of Germany, nor assist Gaston; and that Nanci shou'd be deposited into the Hands of Lewis, as a Security for the Duke's good Behaviour, till the Troubles of Germany, and the Affair of Gaston were Accommodated. And if the Peace of Germany was not restor'd in Four Years Time, Nanci was however to be restor'd to the Duke, who, in the mean while, was to enjoy his Sovereign Rights and Revenues. These Articles were Sign'd by the Two Cardinals, and Francis carry'd them to his Brother, who prevaricated in them, and waited only for the Approach of the Spanish General, to break off all Treaty.

Treaty. Nevertheless he Ratify'd this, having given the Prince de *Mouvi*, Governour of *Nanci*, private Orders not to deliver up the Place, without fresh Orders from himself. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* brought the Ratification to the King, and promis'd that the Town shou'd be deliver'd in Three Days Time; which being expir'd, he declar'd frankly, his Brother had chang'd his Mind, and given the Governour of *Nanci* contrary Orders. Every Day was a Week at that time a Year. Winter came on, the Place was strong, the Garrison numerous, and *Richlieu* began to consider that the Siege might be interrupted by the Rains that fell usually then in *Lorraine*. For fear the King shou'd reproach him with advising his Majesty to undertake the Siege purely on Supposition that the Duke wou'd yield up the Place, to save the rest of his Territories, he sent a Confident of his to him, to assure him, that his Interests were dearer to him than he imagin'd, and if he wou'd come and have a Personal Conference with him, he doubted not but Matters might be accommodated to his good liking. A Gentleman arriv'd at the same time from the Duke of *Oleam*, to perswade him to defend *Nanci* to the last Extremity. This agreed better with *Charles's* Inclination, than the Treaty that was propos'd to him; however, he resolv'd to dissemble still his real Intentions, to spin it out by a Conference with *Richlieu*, and an Interview with the King. A safe Conduct being sent him, *Charles* met the Cardinal at *Charmer*, and new Terms were agreed upon, and Sign'd the 20th of *September*; *Nanci* was to be reposs'd in Three Months, if they were perform'd, and *Charles* to reside there, with all the Honours due to his Rank. As to the Marriage of *Combalet*, *Richlieu* was to give her a great Portion, and leave her his Heir at his Death; and *Charles* to give his Brother a Dutchy, with 100000 Crowns a Year Rent. He had no Dutchy but that of *Bar* to give which is not worth half so much, except *Lorraine*, and that sure was not meant by it. The Truth is, *Charles* agreed to any thing to prevent the sudden

Loss of his Capital, which he hop'd won'd be reliev'd in a few Days. From *Charmes* the Duke went to wait upon the King at *Neuville*, where he was very kindly receiv'd, and *Lewis* told him, *That all was forgotten*. All this while were he and his Ministers consulting how to force *Charles* to execute the Treaty he had agreed upon, and at last they came to a Resolution to Arrest his Person, contrary to the Safe Conduct they had sent him. Accordingly, the King, under several Pretences, kept him so late, that he cou'd not return to the Town, the Guards being set, and the next Morning he found one at the Door of the House where he was Lodg'd. He tempted Monsieur *Pontis*, who was the Commanding Officer of the Guard, to let him escape, but the French Man refusing his Offers, and finding it impracticable, he seem'd to stay by Choice where he was kept by Compulsion; and Two or Three Days afterwards the King took Possession of *Nanci*, where *Charles* was no more Master. The Mareschal de la Force was left in *Lorraine*, with 20000 Men. *Charles*, weary of living in a sort of Honourable Prison in *Nanci*, retir'd to *Bezancon*, and from thence to the Imperial Army on the *Rhine*, living the Life of an Adventurer all the rest of his Days.

Thus it was, that the *Just Lewis* possess'd himself of *Lorraine*, which has never since been entirely restor'd to its Lawful, Hereditary Sovereign. And thus it is, that *France* has got into her Hands so many of her Neighbour's Territories; a great part of which Usurpations, were recover'd by the Arms of our Most Glorious SOVERAIGN, under the Command of the Duke of *Marlborough*, of whom one cannot say, that he ever lost an Inch of that Ground he recover'd, either by War or Peace.

One of the first Acts of the Parliament of *Metz*, was to offer up a Sacrifice to their Protector, the Cardinal; a Grateful Sacrifice, the Blood of one his Enemies. There was a Plot either Pretended or Real, to Assassinate him, *Chanteloube* was said to have had a share in it. Whether True or False, *Alfession*, one of the Plotters was Taken, Try'd, and on the Evidence

Evidence of of two other Accomplices, Condemn'd and Broken on the Wheel. What lays a French Abbot on this Matter? *All that can be said of the Business of Alfeſton, is, that it appears by his Tryal, he had never any Design against the Cardinal's Life, and that the Two Soldiers who Accus'd him, are a Couple of Rogues, who, having Accus'd themselves, charg'd Alfeſton with the same Crime, on Promise of Impunity and Reward. 'Tis true, Alfeſton did Accuse Father Chanteloube on the Rack, but in his Last Speech on the Scaffold, he call'd God to Witness, that the Torments he endur'd, forc'd him to say what was not True, and that Father Chanteloube never Spoke to him of any Attempt against the Cardinal. His Confessor, and some of his Judges, confess'd as much, and that Alfeſton before Condemnation and after, disown'd what the Rack had extorted from him, with respect to Chanteloube.*

What a Treasure wou'd it be to the World, to have the *Arcana* of Richlieu, and such Ministers brought to Light. How Gloomy and Horrid wou'd their dark Councils appear? What Terrible Profpects wou'd there arise from their Craft and Cunning? Shou'd we not find that their quickest Measures wou'd be those of Blood? And tho' they have had their Sycophants to put False Glosses on the Foulest of their Actions, What Horror wou'd the Fairest of them strike in us? Not long after, a Priest and Two Lay-Men were Condemn'd and Burnt, for Curling Richlieu at Mals: And as far as it was in his Power, the Ungrateful Cardinal shew'd he wou'd have done the same by *Mary de Medicis*, for he caus'd her Name to be mention'd in the Process, not only of *Alfeſton*. but also of the Priest and Two Lay-Men, to insinuate to her Son *Lewis the Just*, that his Mother wou'd without Scruple, make use of Fire, Poison or Witchcraft, to obtain her Ends. The Minister's Hatred to the Queen, his Master's Mother, seem'd to increase with her Impotence to hurt him. Such was the Malignity of his Temper, that it grew upon him as his Fortune; and now that *Mary de Medicis* and

her Son *Gaston* are living on the Charity of the King of Spain, embroil'd by their Domesticks at *Brussels*, and abandon'd by almost all their Friends in *France*, now does *Richlieu* persecute these unhappy Princes with as great Fury and Inveteracy as ever.

The Misunderstandings between the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* were so great, occasion'd by the Quarrels among their Servants, that they openly threaten'd each other with a Seperate Treaty. The Duke was, as has been said, as much govern'd as his Brother *Lewis*; if the former talk'd more honestly, one may impute it to his Condition; Misfortune makes People Humble, and the Love which *Gaston* pretended to his Country, wou'd have turn'd to that Domination his Brother affected, when his Country was no longer necessary to him. His Favourite *Puylaurens*, wou'd not see the Queen Mother's Confessor, *Chanteloube*, and the latter never went, to visit Monsieur. 'Twas not likely that such Differences shou'd end well, when, had there been the strictest Union among them, they wou'd still have been too weak to struggle with the Powers they oppos'd. Their Enemies were in Possession of the Person of the Sovereign, and every thing they did, had the Sanction of the Royal Authority, while on the contrary, whatever was done in Opposition to them, was treated as Sedition and Treason. This cou'd not but intimidate their Friends in *France*, who hearing how ill they themselves agreed in *Flanders*, 'twas not to be expected their Party wou'd encrease, or People be fond of joyning with one so distracted and divided. *Chanteloube* insinuated to *Mary de Medicis*, that her Quality of Queen and Mother, ought to give her the Principal Authority in every thing which concern'd the common Interest. *Puylaurens* made his Master believe, that the Queen his Mother was not at all consider'd in *France*, but on his Account; that they did not care whether she return'd or not, desiring only to see the Presumptive Heir to the Crown. *Puylaurens* blam'd *Mary de Medicis* for following the

the Advice of Father *Chanteloube*, and the good Father exclaim'd as much against *Gaston* for being govern'd by *Puylaurens*. The Truth is, neither the Mother nor her Two Sons had the Government of themselves; and how wretched then must all those be that were Govern'd by them, or depended upon them, subjected to the Passions and Interest of Ambitious, Designing Favourities; they were expos'd to continual Changes of Fortune, for Favour being the Gift of Chance more than Merit, seldom does there happen an Instance where those that have it do not abuse it.

The Queen Mother, to revenge herself on *Puylaurens*, concerted with the *Infanta Isabella*, to engage the Dutches of *Orleans* to insinuate to the Duke, that *Puylaurens* betray'd him to *Richlieu*, whose Cousin he was to marry. The Dutches was also made to believe, that her Divorce was one of the Terms of the Accommodation *Gaston's* Favourite was privately Negotiating. This was enough to set her against him, but her Husband, was so far from hearkning to her, that he forbid her to visit the Queen too often, or giving Ear to any thing she said against *Puylaurens*. He not only laid those Injunctions on his Wife, he told his Favourite what she had told him, and *Puylaurens*, to insult this unhappy Princess, abandon'd by one Son, and in terrible Fears of being also abandon'd by the other, boldly enter'd her Chamber one Day, attended by Five and Twenty Gentlemen, with Swords longer than ordinary, either to shew that he was afraid of *Chanteloube's* attempting to murder him, or what *Chanteloube* might expect from himself. The Queen not being able to bear this Insolence, went into her Closet and wept bitterly; *Gaston's* Favourite was insensible of her Grief, and continu'd to dispose his Master to get the best Conditions he cou'd from *Richlieu*. The Duke of *Orleans* communicated his Intentions to his Mother, who, with great Spirit, told him, *He ought to be ashamed of hearkning to the Terms that were propos'd to him. What, said she, have*

You forgot your Birth, and your Rank? What will the World think of you, if you agree to such a Treaty? They will say 'tis the particular Bargain of a Favourite, and not an Honourable Agreement of a Son of France, the Presumptive Heir of the Crown with the King his Brother. Your Honour, and the Interests of your Spouse are entirely Sacrific'd. If you are so unjust and so base as to take another before the Death of this, how can you be sure that the Children you shall have by the latter will be deem'd Legitimate. I don't mention what concerns me, when they offer you such Conditions as are Reasonable and Safe, I shall be the first that will advise you to accept of them. The Duke of Orleans had not a word to say against what his Mother said to him, and having promis'd *Puylaurens* to come to an Agreement of the same Tendency as *Mary de Medicis* hinted, he forbade him to proceed any further in it. *Puylaurens* doubted not, but *Chanteloube* his Enemy, had set the Queen Mother against both him and the Treaty, and falling into a Passion, he went immediately to her, us'd *Chanteloube* ill, threaten'd him, and reproach'd the Queen, that it was only out of her Spite to *Richieu*, that she hinder'd the Two Brothers being reconcil'd. *Mary de Medicis* very justly resenting his Arrogance, told him, The Cardinal her Enemy, never behav'd himself so disrespectfully towards her; be never, continues she, durst talk to me so haughtily and insolently; know that if I wou'd speak but one word of retaining him into my Favour again, I shou'd ruin all your Projects. Begone, or I'll have you thrown out at the Window; 'tis plain enough your Heart is as base as your Birth. The Difference between the Domesticks of *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston*, grew to such a height, that the former was forc'd to entreat the *Infanta*, to order the Garrison of *Brussels* be be reinforc'd with Horse and Foot. The Queen had the greater Interest with the *Infanta* and the *Spaniards*, who observ'd *Gaston* and his Favourite very narrowly. The Dutchess of *Orleans* sided with her Mother-in-Law, who insisted on the

Validity

Validity of her Marriage, and *Gaston* found himself reduc'd to the necessity of making his Escape from *Brussels*, and abandoning his Mother and his Wife, for living there against his Will.

Mary de Medicis perceiving *Puylaurens* continu'd to encrease *Gaston's* Indifference for her, and her Interests, she was more earnest than ever to be reconcil'd to the King; but yet so haughty still with respect to his Minister, without whose Approbation 'twas impossible for her to return to *France*, that she no sooner thought of any means of Accommodation than she spoilt it by some Act of Disgust and Resentment towards *Richlieu*.

We have mention'd *Lewis's* sending *des Roches* to her, on her being taken ill at *Ghent*; and the Person she sent to return her Son Thanks, was *Brusseuse*, a Creature of *Chanteloube*. The Letter she wrote him, was far from shewing the least Complacency to the Cardinal; the King read it in the Presence of *Brusseuse*, beckon'd to him to retire, and said angrily, *Let no Body come here for the future from the Queen my Mother, who has not first demanded a Passport.*

I have consider'd on this Occasion, whether *Lewis* is blameable for his Cruel Usage or not. A Prince, as the Father of his Country, ought to have no Relations when its Interests are concern'd: He is truly its Father, who Sacrifices Wife, Mother and Brother to the Publick Good. But wherein was the Publick Good concern'd, in keeping *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* out of *France*? What were the People the better for it? Did it secure their Liberties, ease their Taxes, and redress their Grievances? And was the Sacrifice *Lewis* the Just made of his Mother and Brother, to the Good of his People, or to the Vengeance of his Minister? One cannot think of the latter without Horror. Can Princes forego Nature, to please those that flatter them in their Arbitrary Measures? Are they not bound by the Tyes of Religion as well as their Subjects? Must they not account one Day for the Murders they or their Ministers are the cause of?

Are

Are they exempted from the Punishment of Sin, as well as from the Terrors of Conscience? If they are not, how can they dessemble thus with God and Man, how forget the Duties of Parents and Children, and set themselves above all Laws Humane and Divine? I must confess, I take great Pleasure in thinking, when I read the History of wicked Princes, and wicked Ministers, that they are not Immortal, that there will be a Day of Account for them, and that the Avenger is in Heaven. These Reflections have often diverted me in the Course of this History, which it was impossible to go through without them.

Other Instances there are of the Queen Mother's Impolitick Carriage, with regard to the Cardinal, and her Son *Lewis's* unnatural Behaviour towards her on that Score. *Launai*, one of her Bed-Chamber Women, got leave to pay a Superstitious Vow she made to *our Lady of Liesse in Picardy*, and to go afterwards to *Paris* about a Law-Suit. *Combalet* sent to her, to know how *Mary de Medicis* did, and 'twas expected that Madam *Launai* wou'd upon that have visited the Minister's Niece; but she not daring to do it without an expresse Order from her Mistress, she was charg'd with Caballing, and order'd to depart in Twenty Four Hours. The Queen Mother was not so very easy in her Sojourn at *Brussels*, that she shou'd not desire to leave it by any honourable Means. The King of *Spain* was drain'd by the expence of the *German* and *Flemish* Wars, and his Allowance to her was so diminish'd, that she was forc'd to reduce the Number of her Domesticks, and put those she kept to Board-Wages. *Mary de Medicis* demanded Licences for the Servants she dismiss'd to return to *France*, and *Jacquelo*, one of her Gentlemen, who was sent to *Paris* on that Errand, had Instruction to sound the King, to see how well or ill he was dispos'd to a Réconciliation. *Jacquelo* saw immediately that *Richlieu* wou'd abate nothing of the hard Terms impos'd on *Mary de Medicis*, to give up her most faithful Servants to the Cardinal's Revenge

venge. *This Cruelty*, says a French Author, was cover'd under the specious Pretext of maintaining the King's Authority, in chusing and keeping his Ministers as he thought fit. It will be so; to except against any one that has the Royal Choice on his side, however Tyrannical in his Administration, however unfit for it, will be to attack the Royal Authority in chusing and keeping of Ministers. Yet how can Princes know that they have good or ill Servants about them, but by being told of it, and how can they be told of it when they are surrounded by such Ministers and their Creatures? The *Delbenes* solicited all this while the return of *Monsieur*, but there was a very hard Article to be got over, his declaring his Marriage with the Princess of *Lorraine* invalid. Good God! Can *Lewis* the Just demand such a Declaration of his Brother, to turn off his Wife, whom a Holy Sacrament of his Church had joyn'd for Life, because he had not given his Consent to the Marriage? Wou'd he have an injur'd Princess sent Home Debauch'd, and with the Infamy of a Mistress? So it is, and so little do the Titles given to some Princes agree with their Characters; some are call'd *Just*, that stick at no *Injustice*; some *Great*, that never Fought a Battel.

Mary de Medicis sent *Villiers St. Genest*, another of her Gentlemen, to *Paris* soon after *Jacquelin*, under pretence of Congratulating the King upon his return from *Nancy*, and to inquire after his Health. The true Design was to inform himself of the Success of the Intrigues of *Catherine Ezaroni*, who cou'd not right herself, and of the Disposition of the Ministers to an Accommodation. *Villiers* had Audience of the King at *Versailles*, and represented to him in very moving Terms, the ill usage the Queen his Mother suffer'd from *Puy-laurans*, that he continually insulted her, and she earnestly entreated him to have some regard to the Health of a Mother who tenderly lov'd him, and not let her languish under the Tyranny of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Favourite; closing all with Assurances

surances that *Mary de Medicis* knew nothing of *Gaston's Expedition to Languedoc*. The latter was false, and *Lewis* had infallible Proofs of her knowing and approving it in his Hands. I am sorry, said he to *Villiers*, very coldly, my Brother uses my Mother so ill, she might have sav'd herself this Trouble, if she wou'd have follow'd my good Advice. I once thought that she did indeed Love me, but she has lately given me so many, and so certain Tokens of her ill Will, that I can hardly believe what she says of her Affection to me to be Sincere. I know very well what share she had in the Commotions in Languedoc, her Jewels were Sold to raise Money to carry on a War with me. Say True, has she order'd you now to Visit *Monseigneur the Cardinal*? There it sticks: Nothing is to be done but with the Approbation of the Minister: Has this Cardinal a Master? Is he a Servant to a Man, and dares he set his Will above the Duty of his Prince? No, Sir, reply'd *Villiers*, but I shall for all that pay my most humble Respects to him wherever I shall meet him. Since your Majesty commands me to speak the Truth, I will not dissemble, the Queen Mother is as much Prepossess'd against the Cardinal as ever. If she really lov'd me, says *Lewis*, she wou'd love also a Minister that has done so many useful and glorious Things for my Crown since the Siege of *Rochelle*; I see there's no hope of a sincere Reconciliation as long as the Queen my Mother, keeps such sorts of People about her, as *la Fargis* and *Chanteloube*. *Villiers* reply'd, Sir, the Queen knows *Madam du Fargis* very well. She know her very well, answers the King, I can't think it. That Creature is one of those mischievous Vipers of *Lion*, who concerted with the Duke de *Bellegarde*, the Keeper of the Seals *Marillac*, and other Wretches, to put the Queen my Mother upon making such a Noise and Stir. *Lewis* instead of taking hold of this Opportunity to reconcile with the Person, to whom, next under God, he ow'd his Being, thought of making use of it, to gain over *Paylaurens*, and by that means bring *Gaston* to an Accommodation upon any

any Terms he shou'd please to grant him. When *Villiers* came to take his last Orders, upon his Return to *Brussels*, *Lewis* told him, he had intercepted a Letter, wherein *Father Chanteloube* made a Jest of *Des Roches's* Visit to his Mother, and said she wou'd never be reconcil'd to him. *The Rogue*, added he, thought I wou'd have sent *Des Roches* again, that he might again have made himself merry with my Messages. I must confess, I shou'd have dispatch'd him thither once more, if the Insolence of that Rascal had not made me change my Resolution. How can I be satisfy'd of the good Intentions of the Queen my Mother, when I see her protect such a miserable Hypocrite. "I am afraid, says a French Author, this Intercepted Letter was one of *Richlieu's* Rogue's Tricks, or *Father Joseph's*, to hinder the Kings being mollify'd by so many Messengers from his Mother. I say Rogues Tricks, for in fine the Cardinal, *Father Joseph*, and *Father Chanteloube*, were all Rascals alike." 'Twas likely the French Nation shou'd be happy, when whoever had the Ministry, they were sure to have a Man of that Character at the Head. Whether *Mary de Medicis* or *Richlieu* prevail'd, a Rascal, if you believe this French Man, was sure to be Prime Minister; and what Friends such Wretches are to Liberty, one need not be told, their Character explaining it sufficiently.

In Decency *Lewis* was oblig'd to deliberate with his Council what was to be done on this Occasion; his Mother and Brother had made him Proposals of Accommodation, and the People wou'd have cry'd out Shame, had he taken no Notice of them; but when his Council took them into Consideration, *Richlieu* made a long Speech against both *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston*, setting forth that it was absolutely necessary to keep them out of the Kingdom while they were out, and had such Evil Counsellors about them.

What a Blessed Councillor in the mean Time had *Lewis* the Just in himself! True, his Councils serv'd for the Foundation of an Arbitrary, Despotick Power

in *France*, and *Mazarine* treading in his Steps, carry'd on that dreadful Building, in the Ruin of the *French Liberty*, and almost the Liberty of all *Europe*, his Successors having persu'd the same Plan. But there at last arose a Genius for Council and War, that overturn'd this Terrible Fabrick, and never would it have lifted up its Head again, had Heaven thought fit to have continu'd its Ministry.

While these things were in Debate at *Paris*, *Francis*, Cardinal of *Lorraine*, was Negotiating his Marriage with *Combalet*, but he insisted on the entire Restitution of that Dutchy and Bar, to his Brother Duke *Charles*. *Richlieu* fearing *Francis's* Courtship of his Neice, was only an Amusement to gain those Advantages for his Brother, kept him off, under pretence that there was not sufficient Security offer'd for the 100000 Crowns a Year, and the Dutchy, which *Francis* was to have to support *Combalet*, according to the Quality of *Richlieu's* Cousin. That Matter had been almost accommodated, but *Francis* continuing to demand the Restitution of *Nanci*, and *Richlieu* being too proud of that Acquisition, to part with it on Uncertainties, for when 'twas agreed to, who cou'd answer that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* would perform his Treaty better than his Brother *Charles* had done his; *Richlieu* told him he Passionately desir'd to enter into the Alliance of the House of *Lorraine*, but his Neice having a long while design'd to retire to a Cloister, he cou'd not presently dispose her to change her Mind. *Francis* not doubting but this Coldness of his was to get him to conclude the Affair without any Obligation from *Lewis* to restore what was taken from his Brother, talk'd no more of the Marriage, and took his Leave of *Richlieu* to be gone. My Lord, said the Cardinal, my Neice is oblig'd to you for the Honour you have done her; we shall know in a Months Time, whether she will depart from her Intention to go into a Convent; you shall be the first who is acquainted with it, if she resolves to the contrary. This he said with such a Sullen Air, that *Francis* might perceive he was in a Rage to have his Neice made a Dupe in
this

this Affair: For he went on, *Let us now talk of another Business, you know, my Lord, that according to the Treaty of Charmes, the Princess Margare't your Sister, ought to have been put into the King's Hands in Three Months Time. These Three Months are expir'd, his Majesty will have the Marriage declar'd Null by the Parliament. One of the main Grounds of the Process is, the Rape, that is, the Seduction of Monsieur by Persons of your House. Monsieur, the Duke of Lorraine, must not take it amiss, if he is cited to answer this Matter before the Parliament. Was there ever any thing more insolent? A Sovereign Prince, the Elder Branch of the House of France, to answer before a Tribunal, sunk to that low Degree of Credit and Authority, for giving the Princess his Sister, in Marriage to the French King's Brother, compell'd by the Tyranny of a Minister to leave the Kingdom. The Cardinal of Lorraine reply'd, his Brother was not oblig'd to deliver up his Sister by the Treaty, which he had perform'd to the utmost of his Power, in earnestly soliciting the Duke of Orleans to send her to France. In a word, he pray'd Richlieu to interceed with the King, that his Brother might not be affronted with a Citation, with which, as being a Sovereign Prince, he could not comply. However, on the Sixteenth of January, 1634, the King went in Person to the Parliament, attended by the Prince of Conde, the Count de Soissons, the Dukes de Chevreuse, d'Uzes, de Chaunes, and de la Valette; the Marshalls de Chatillon and de Breze, the Count de Tresmes, the Marquis de Nesle, the Marquis de Sourdis, and several other Great Lords. Richlieu, contrary to all Usage, wou'd needs harangue the Parliament, to whom the Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seals, the First President, or other of the King's Officers and Servants, us'd only to speak on such Occasions. The Cardinal having set forth all his Eloquence in Praise of himself, and vilifying the King's Mother and Brother, the Declaration against the Duke of Orleans's Marriage was read, and Register'd, and another, by which the King suppress'd at once, 100000 Officers,*

as Richlieu told the Parliament, for the Ease of the People. "Such, says my Author, a French Man, "is the deplorable Condition of the French, since "they were so base as to suffer the Establishment "of Arbitrary Power. An infinite Number of Offices have been Erected to raise Money; Rich Men "are forc'd to buy them, and a little while after, "those that bought them, are Cashier'd for the "Ease of the Subject." A Happy Constitution, which those that are enamour'd with French Politicks may imitate if they think fit.

We will now see what *Lewis the Just* says particularly of his Brother's Marriage, and his annulling it by the Declaration above-mention'd. We shall observe in it the Grand Air affected by France, since she had the good Fortune to be Govern'd by Cardinals and Priests. Our only Brother, says Lewis, being in the Hands of the Enemies of the Grandeur of our Crown, who, to engage him in the Interests of a House, the Alliance of which, has always been of little Profit to France, have procur'd him to Marry against our express Will; and we having try'd several ways to no purpose, to bring our Brother back to his Duty, and not being willing to omit any thing in an Affair of so great Importance, we have resolv'd to declare our self, our Intention in our Parliament. Pray mind of what Authority this August Tribunal is, all the Honour they have, is to hear what the King intends, perhaps a little before other People. And to declare to all the World, that this pretended Marriage, being contrary to the Fundamental Laws of our State, and the Dignity of our Crown being concern'd in the Affront we have receiv'd, we will never consent to it. God forbid that Posterity shou'd one Day reproach us for being less Jealous of the Glory of France, than our Predecessors. All the while did the Pious Richlieu aim at nothing less, by dissolving this Marriage, than to oblige Monsieur to marry Combalet his Neice, whose Husband had been an ordinary Gentleman, from whose Bed his Uncle aspir'd, to lift her to that of the King's Brother, and it may be to that of the King himself, by Lewis's Death.

After

After all this is said, the King in his Declaration very kindly and pompously invited his Brother *Gaston*, to come and take the *Glorious Rank of the Second Person of the First Kingdom of Europe*. If this *First Kingdom of Europe* had had the Misfortune to have seen that General on the Banks of the *Somme*, who drove the best Army she ever had into the *Danube*, what a Jest would the *Glorious Rank* have been now to all *Europe*? Is there no *Moral Vertue* from which the Princes of *France* are not exempted? Is *Vanity* a *Faible* or a *Vice* in any one but them? Is *Modesty* not becoming in them? And cannot a King be truly Great, without being always bragging of it? Especially if he contributes nothing to his Greatness but by setting his Name to *Edicts*, *Ordinances* and *Orders*. *Richlieu* made him declare, *That the Happy Success of all his Enterprizes, was the Effect of the Councils, and the Wise Conduct of his Ministers*. The Master and the Servant are the very *Pinks of Modesty*, and whoever wants to adorn themselves with that *Vertue*, let him consult their *History*.

Nothing in the World could be more Rash and Arbitrary than this Attempt to dissolve a Marriage that had been Consummated. For God's sake, What's the Will of a Prince, to the Command of God? Besides, on a Political Account, had it not been *Richlieu's* good Fortune, that the *Dutchess of Orleans* did not bring a Son into the World, what Mischievous Consequences must this pretended Dissolution have been attended with? Had the King and *Monlieur* dy'd without any Heirs, but what shou'd have been born of this Marriage thus annul'd, would not the Princes of the Blood have disputed the Crown? Would not the Younger Brethren of the Son born to *Gaston*, by the Princess *Margaret*, had she had more Sons than one, have pretended that the Eldest was born during the Nullity of the Marriage, or would not the Princes of the Blood, to divide the Royal Family, have always been ready to raise Commotions in Favour of this or that Heir of the Crown,

the Title being then liable to be controverted? But all these Considerations, and the Confusions that might arise from them, cou'd not restrain *Richlieu* from revenging himself in this manner, on the House of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Orleans*.

Soon after the Arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorraine* at *Mirecourt*, where the Duke his Brother then resided, the latter made a Formal Resignation of his Dutchy to Cardinal *Francis* his Brother, who sent a Gentleman to Notify it to *Lewis* and *Richlieu*. The latter inveigh'd against both *Charles* and *Francis*, about the Marriage, and reading the Subscription of a Letter, the Express had brought, *Duke of Lorraine*, He cry'd, *This Title is assum'd to deceive the King, but we are not to be Trick'd by it.* He said so many Outragious Things against the House of *Lorraine*, that the Gentleman who brought him the Letter, fell a Trembling. He afterwards recover'd himself, and very handsomely vindicated his Master, the Cardinal, *Duke of Lorraine*. *Richlieu* continu'd to rail at him, and at last said, *Till now I have profess'd my self to be one of the Cardinal of Lorraine's Servants, but since I see he will follow his Brother's ill Example, I am oblig'd to declare my self his Enemy.* A Notable Enemy had the Bishop of *Lucon* been to the Duke of *Lorraine* if the King of *France*, his Master, wou'd have hearken'd to the Crys of his Mother, his Brother, and all his People. However as it was now, his Power was so great, that he oblig'd the New Duke of *Lorraine*, the Princess *Claude* his Cousin, whom he had marry'd, the Princess of *Phaltzburgh*, to make their Escape in Disguises from *Nanci*, for fear of being shut up in Prison: A Circumstance happen'd in it, which was merry enough. The Duke chose the First of *April* to execute his Purpose, and it being the Custom of the *Lorrainers*, as it is of the *English*, to put little Tricks on People on that Day, to call them *April Fools*, the Duke caus'd it to be given out several times before he fled, that he

he was gone; the Count de Brassac, Governor of Nanci, sent to see whether it was true or not, and always found him and his Dutchels there; where they were lodg'd under a French Guard.

Being often impos'd upon by such Reports, when the First of April came, the Duke and his Consort got off in Disguise; a Peasant met them on the Bridge, and told a Soldier of the Guard, who communicated it to his Officer, and he thinking it was to make an April Fool of him, Payson d'Avril, as they call in Lorraine, neglected it. Two Hours after he told the Governor what he had heard, and Brassac neglected it also, on the same silly Account, inasmuch, that no search was made for them, till they were too far gone to be over-taken. By the Evasion of this Prince and the Two Princesses, the House of Lorraine was entirely dispers'd, and Lewis the Just kept Possession of their Territories, having no manner of Pretence to deprive them of their Right but that of Force, so little agreeable to the Surname he had assum'd. The Dutchess of Guise was banish'd the Kingdom for endeavouring to support the Marriage of Monsieur with the Princess of Lorraine, and shewing too much Concern for the Misfortunes of that Family. In the mean time Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to frustrate all attempts to annul his Marriage, solemnly ratify'd it at Brussels, and with all the Forms which it was pretended had been omitted, and without which the Popish Casuists alledge, it lay liable to Objection.

During these Transactions the Two Favourites of Mary de Medicis and Gaston had perpetual Quarrels. Mary de Medicis had a new support, though a small one, in the Friendship of the Princess of Phalzburgh, Sister to the Duke of Lorraine, who was retir'd to Brussels, not so much for the security of her Person, as to follow her Lover Paylavens, of whom she was become Jealous. This Favourite of Gaston had, as she was inform'd, frequently visited Mademoiselle de Chimai, Daughter of the Princess of that Name, and was very much

in Love with her; For *Puylaurens*, fugitive as he was, minded Gallantry in his Exile, as well as Politicks, and his Amours were often what *Richlieu* upbraided him with, tho' himself was as Guilty that way as any one. *Puylaurens* before he left *Lorraine*, had receiv'd a Romantick Favour of the Princess of *Phaltzburgh*, a Blew Ribon with an Amorous Device, which he always wore on his Breast, till he had seen *Madamoiselle de Chimaj*, and then he chang'd the Blew Ribon for a Green one, *Madamoiselle's* Favourite Colour. The Princess of *Phaltzburgh* retiring to *Brussels*, fell in immediately with *Mary de Medicis* to be reveng'd on *Puylaurens*, and engag'd the Dutchess of *Orleans* to do him all the ill Offices she cou'd with the Duke; but her Power over him was nothing in comparison with his Favourite's. *Gaston* had given himself up as entirely to *Puylaurens* as *Lewis* was given up to *Richlieu*, and the Duke of *Orleans's* Favourite continu'd to give *Mary de Medicis* such frequent Mortifications, that she relov'd, on any Terms, to be reconcil'd to her Son the King. She condescended so far as to write a Submissive Letter to *Richlieu*, and sent her First Esquire, *Monsieur Lalen*, to Negotiate her return with the King and Cardinal. This Gentleman was a Man of Parts and Address, and *Richlieu* fearing he might move the King in a particular Audience, got his Majesty to order him to deliver his Letter in Council, where *Seguier*, Keeper of the Seals, declar'd his Opinion against the return of *Mary de Medicis*, till *Chanteloube*, *St. Germain*, and the Astrologer, *Fabroni*, were put into the Hands of Justice: A Preliminary *Richlieu* knew the Queen Mother wou'd never consent to, and therefore caus'd *Seguier* to propose it on purpose to hinder the Queen's being reconcil'd to her Son. Every one cry'd out Shame against this Obstinacy and Insolence of *Richlieu*, and the inflexible Temper of *Lewis*, with respect to the Person in the World whom he ought to have most Lov'd and Honour'd. The Reflections of a *French* Historian on this event are very just.

just. Such, says he, are the strange effects of Ambition and Self love, a little Priest rais'd by a mighty Queen to a Sovereign degree of Fortune, is not contented to have reduc'd his Benefactress so low, as to humble herself before him, and acknowledge his Power so far, as to protest that a main Reason, of her desiring an Accommodation was to give him new Proofs of the Sincerity of her Friendship, the Widow of Henry the Great, the Mother of the King of France, of the Queens of Spain and England, ends her Life in a sort of Exile, because Armand John du Pleissis, third Son of a Gentleman of Poictou, is afraid his Prodigious Fortune wou'd be in danger, if his first Benefactress liv'd with the King her Son. He who thought himself happy in the Bishoprick of Lucon, now will be satisfy'd with nothing less than the absolute Government of Lewis and France. The delivering up those of the Queen's Domesticks, whom she lov'd best was an Article from which the King wou'd not depart, and to shew Laleu that his Mistress must expect no Accommodation without it, himself was kept Eight Hours without Audience. Richlieu appear'd little in this Matter, he put his Creatures upon speaking what he wou'd have them, to throw the Odium off himself. He for his own part, invited Laleu to his House at Ruel, where he found him alone, and was receiv'd by him with such Extraordinary Complements, that the Queen's Esquire was in a manner confounded. The Cardinal's deceitful Speech on this Occasion is worth reading:

There is nothing surprising, says he perceiving Laleu's Confusion. I have such a profound Respect for the Queen Mother, so strong a Passion to shew how much I am devoted to her, that I cou'd treat all those that comes from her with much more Distinction. I cannot well tell you how I was overjoy'd when I read the Letter she did me the Honour to write me. What matter of Comfort will it be to me, to find that the Malice of the Enemies of the State, has not been able to lessen her goodness towards me,

that it is so rooted in her Heart, that she again lets it shoot out to my inexpressible Joy. I most humbly entreat her Majesty to permit me to give her certain Marks of the Gratitude of my Intentions by speaking to her hereafter with the same freedom I us'd to do before I unhappily lost the Honour of her good Graces and Confidence. Things are gone so far, 'tis impossible but there must be some remains of Suspicion and Diffidence. Let all the Clouds be dispers'd once, and then we shall build on a solid Foundation. The new knot of Friendship forming between the King and the Queen Mother will become indissoluble for the future, she will receive all the Tokens of Affection and Tenderness that she can expect from the best Son upon Earth, as soon as she will take Two or Three Steps, which the King thinks necessary. As for my self, I protest to the Queen, I will do her all the Service that lies in my Power, and will let no Opportunity slip to shew her that the Remembrance of her Goodness to me will never be blotted out of my Heart; I only beg her Majesty to consider that the Place I am in, obliges me indispensably to pursue the King's Intention with the utmost Exactness, and that in the present Conjunction I cannot depart from what he prescribes me without sensibly Displeasing him.

Notwithstanding all this, was Richlieu his very self the occasion of Lewis his Master's insisting on his Mother's giving up Three of her most faithful Servants to his Revenge. 'Twas very strange that the Cardinal of Richlieu shou'd have forgot, what the Bishop of Lucon told the Duke de Luines on the subject of St. Germain, one of the Men he desir'd to be deliver'd up, Luines relenting a Manifesto publish'd by that Abbot, when the Queen Mother took Arms at Angers, demanded he shou'd be banish'd the Queen's Court. Her Majesty, says Richlieu, then Bishop of Lucon, will rather perish than abandon any of her Domesticks: Monsieur de St. Germain, who has done her good Service, will always have the Honour of her Protection. Laleu
returning

returning to *Brussels*, gave the Queen a melancholly Account of the ill Success of his Negotiation. Her Domestick, who doubted not of *Richlieu's* ready embracing the Queen's humble Offers for an Accommodation, she having condescended to court his Favour, and promis'd him her Friendship, expected to be in *France* in a few Days, and were terribly disappointed, to find the King and his Minister was so far from granting the Request of the Queen Mother, that there was no prospect of her return at all. To make one attempt more, *Mary de Medicis* resolv'd to send Father *Suffren*, her Confessor, to the King, as whose Confessor he had also been; but a Passport being demanded for him, *Richlieu* fearing the Influence this Jesuit might have over a Conscience he had directed, and which was it self very Timorous and Scrupulous when it was not govern'd by the Cardinal's Casuists, wou'd not let *Suffren* have a Passport, crying, his coming was needless, till her Majesty had done what the King desir'd of her. *Mary de Medicis* was the only Person of all her Family who did not despair, finding their return to *France* was impossible, without she wou'd do Things which did not consist either with Justice, Honour or Gratitude. *Puylaurens* saw, with Pleasure, that all her endeavours after a Reconciliation were ineffectual, and particularly, that the Cardinal wou'd bear of no Accommodation his till Enemy, *Chantelaube*, was given up. This Favourite of *Gaston* did not doubt, the Court wou'd be better dispos'd to receive again the Presumptive Heir to the Crown. The *Delbeyes* reviv'd a Negotiation, Overtures were made by *Richlieu*, and Couriers were daily coming and going between *Paris* and *Brussels*, at which the Queen Mother, the Marquis d' *Ayetong*, Governor of the *Netherlands* upon the Death of the *Infanta*, the Duke d' *Elheuf*, and the Princess of *Phaltzburg*, were terribly alarm'd; all being done by *Gaston* and his Favourite without their Participation.

They cry'd out that *Gaston* was about to make ungrateful Returns to the King of *Spain*, who had so generously entertain'd him in his Misfortune, and the Marquis d' *Ayetone* acting in concert with *Mary de Medicis*, they together hinder'd the Duke of *Orleans's* Reconciliation on the Terms *Richlieu* wou'd have impos'd upon him. The Abbot *Delbene* came twice from *Paris* to *Brussels*, to perswade *Gaston* to throw himself on the King's Generosity, and not to insist upon a Place of Safety*: As also to suffer the Validity of his Marriage, with the Princess of *Lorraine*, to be debated and determin'd by Commissioners, but *Monsieur* wou'd not consent to the latter. *Le Coigneux*, his Chancellor, had been dismiss'd for opposing *Puylaurens*, but hearing *Gaston* was likely to come to an Accommodation, he went to him, and was introduc'd into his Closet by some of his Friends. He represented to him his Services, and that he had abandon'd every thing to follow him. *Monsieur* interrupted him several times, and at last left him, saying only, *I will take care of your Interests*. Such is the Gratitude of French Princes, such the Reward of their most faithful and useful Servants, and what better can one expect from those that think all Mankind are oblig'd to serve them, and they under no Obligation to serve any body: that their *Will* and *Pleasure* is Reason and Justice, and that to suffer for Fidelity, is a sort of Glory, which one ought to be proud of as much as suffering for Conscience. For my one part, these Sublime Notions have no Effect on me, and I shall never envy the Condition of such as have had the happiness to be ruin'd by the Ingratitude of Princes.

Richlieu fearing the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd enter into new Engagements with the *Spaniards*, who tempted him more than ever on the Prospect they had of losing him, was resolv'd not to depend on the Inconstancy of that Prince, but whether he wou'd come to an Accommodation or not, to be strong enough of himself to support his Fortune. He had thoughts of forming a League of his Friends and

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Dependants, and had the Insolence to make the following Speech in the Council, when *Delbene* return'd to *Paris*, and brought Word that *Monsieur* would not permit his Marriage to be canvass'd by Commissioners: *I see but Two Ways*, says he, for the King to secure himself against the ill Designs of *Monsieur*, the one depends on the Benediction of Heaven, the other on his Majesty's Prudence. The first is the Birth of a Dauphin, by taking away all hope of Succeeding to the Throne, the Birth of an Heir will take away from him the Design of seeing it vacant. The second Expedient consists in a strict Union between those in whose Fidelity the King may confide. This will let all Men of Sense, engag'd in *Monsieur's* Party see that if any attempt is made on the Life of the King, there will not only be Persons dispos'd to revenge so horrid a Crime, but that *Monsieur* will find a powerful League ready to oppose him and his Party, even tho' the Throne became vacant by the ordinary Ways. If *Monsieur* sees once that the Succession to the Throne may be strongly disputed after the Death of the King, he will not desire it; his Interest will make him comply with the King's good Servants, whose Confederacy will be formidable if he does not act according to Reason. This Expedition will defend the State against the Pernicious Designs of the Spaniards Abroad, and the Disaffected at Home, in case the King shou'd dye. Neither the one nor the other will dare to compel *Monsieur* to grant them what they may demand, as the Reward of their having protected and defended him. Their Power will be counterballanc'd by the Union of the King's faithful Servants, who find their security in maintaining the just Rights of *Monsieur*, and defending the State against the Enterprizes of the Spaniards.

Did ever one meet with so Insolent and Infamous a Proposal, against the Presumptive Heir of so absolute a Monarchy? He insinuates no less than that *Gaston* had Designs against the Life of his Brother, and would have the King's Council enter into an Association to support his Interests, which
he

he calls those of the State, in case *Monseigneur* shou'd outlive his Brother. By this and the Possession of so many strong Towns held by him and his Relations and Creatures, he doubted not to be able to oblige *Gaston* to come to an Accommodation with him, if *Lewis*, who was as weak in Body as in Mind, shou'd dye without a Son. He had another Project, if a Son had been born and the King dy'd, which was by the Power of his Confederacy, to get himself declar'd Regent, and to banish the Duke of *Orleans* to *Venice*, where he shou'd live on a small Pension. The King, who heard this fine Speech, said nothing. He seem'd to have terrible Apprehensions of the Consequences of his Brother's Succession to all his faithful Servants, if *Richlieu's* Measures were not taken. But the Death of the Cardinal's Friend, *Wallestein* in *Germany*, having puzzl'd his Foreign Affairs, he was forc'd to turn his Thoughts that way, and leave his Domestick Affairs to another Opportunity. *Gaston* continuing firm in his Resolution not to have his Marriage dissolv'd, enter'd into a new Treaty with the *Spaniards*, which was suspended a little by an attempt made to Assassinate his Favourite *Puylaurens*, who was shot in his Palace, but the Wound was slight. The Assassin got off in the hurry and fright it put *Gaston's* whole Court into. Who it was that employ'd this Assassin to murder *Puylaurens* was not discover'd, but 'twas generally thought, that *Chanteloube* was the Man that set him to Work, and some Soldiers he us'd to have about him were taken up and examin'd, which *Mary de Medicis* highly resented. The Duke of *Elbeuf* and the Princess of *Phaltzburgh* were suspected to have had a Hand in the Plot against *Puylaurens*; the former was playing with *Monseigneur* in his Closet, when the Favourite was wounded, and 'twas said he had contriv'd to be there on purpose to prevent Suspicion. Be it as it will, *Gaston*, who was mightily concern'd for the danger his Favourite had been in, look'd very sourly on *d'Elbeuf*; since that Accident happen'd, knowing the Duke hated

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Puylaurens. *D'Elbeuf* took an occasion to justify himself, and *Monsieur* reply'd, I don't believe you wou'd engage in such a Villanous Design, if I had thought so, I shou'd have punish'd you for it before now; I wou'd only have you to know, that if I cou'd discover the Author of this Attempt and his Accomplices, I wou'd not spare them. *D'Elbeuf* provok'd at *Monsieur's* Carriage towards him, and that he shou'd in the least doubt of his Innocence, said, Sir, I have lost all my Estate for your Service, I wou'd at least preserve my Honour. Your Honour, reply'd *Gaston*, I do not meddle with it, I leave it all entire to you. As to your Estate, 'tis well known you were ruin'd and had lost your Government before you came to me. *Elbeuf* answer'd, 'Tis True, Sir, but I have been offer'd my Government since if I wou'd abandon you. They don't believe it in France, reply'd *Gaston*, I know very well what they think of you there. Let them think what they please, says *Elbeuf*, I understand, Sir, you are about an Accommodation with the King; if by chance you have comprehended me in it, I beg you to do me the Favour to raze out what concerns me, I will never return to France but with the Queen your Mother. *Gaston* fell into a furious Passion, and *Elbeuf* was no less furious, venting against *Puylaurens* the Choller, he durst not vent against the Brother of his King. *Du Coudrai-Montpensier*, the Favourite's Creature and Confident, challeng'd the Duke d' *Elbeuf*, who bid the Gentleman that brought the Challenge tell *du Coudrai*, He wou'd have him Can'd, that 'twas not for him to set himself on a level with a Prince; that if *Puylaurens* wou'd fight him, he might lay aside his Quality, to let him see he knew how to rid himself of his Enemies by Honourable ways, and not by hiring Assassins. Misfortunes are always apt to sour People's Tempers, and *Chanteloube* and *Puylaurens* not being able to gain their Ends by their Negotiations in France, animated *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* more against each other, as if each was the Occasion of the others Disappointment. These Heats so Imprudent and Unnatural,

tural, caus'd continual jars among their Domesticks, insomuch, that *Mary de Medicis* was forc'd to go to *Antwerp*, under Pretence of a Religious Vilit to some Saint, that her Servants might not Fight with her Son *Gaston's*. However, the Duke d' *Elbeuf*, as soon as *Puylaurens* was well enough recover'd of his Wound, sent him a Challenge in the following Terms: *Since you falsely Charge me with being the cause of the Wound that render'd your Life in Danger I have made choice of a sure and honourable Means to take it from you by my own Hand; come to the Place this Gentleman will tell you, bring Three of your Friends with you, I will bring Three of mine.* *Puylaurens* accepted of the Challenge, and was preparing to go to the Place of Rendevous. *Monsieur* hearing of it, set Guards upon him, and fell into a violent Passion against the Duke, *The Challenge, says he, is aim'd at me and not Puylaurens; the Affair shall be determin'd in a manner agreeable to a Son of France towards a Duke of Elbeuf.* The glorious Privilege to be the Son of a Country. What Laws might one not impose on all one's Dependants, with so Magnificent a Title? *Gaston* got the Marquis d' *Ayeton* to desire the Duke d' *Elbeuf* not to come to *Brussels*; the Queen Mother exclaim'd against it, carry'd him thither in her Coach, appointed him Lodgings in her Pallace, and set a Guard upon him to hinder his Fighting with *Puylaurens*.

These broils went so far, that the very Priest *Chanteloube* was forc'd to be guarded, for fear he also shou'd have Fought. The Two Families of *Mary de Medicis* and *Gaston* were so Quarrellome, that it was as much as the Governor of the *Netherlands* cou'd do to keep them from falling together by the Ears. They were in despair of returning with Honour to *France*, and seem'd weary of those Lives which were to be spent in Exile, unless the new Treaty *Gaston* had enter'd into with *Philip the IV of Spain*, had better Effect than the rest had had. The King of *Spain* oblig'd himself to assist *Gaston* with 15000 Men, and Money in proportion, which

which the Duke of Orleans was to repay when he cou'd get it, or when he came to the Crown. *Mary de Medicis* refus'd to Sign this Treaty, which at the bottom was not so sincere on the side of *Monsieur* as on that of the *Spaniards*. 'Twas one of his, or his Favourite's Artifices, to conceal their Negotiation with *Lewis*; and this Deceit was so far carry'd on, that *Gaston* sent one of his Guards with Letters to his Friends, to give them Notice of a Treaty which he desir'd them to support; *Richlieu* had the Soldier seiz'd and hang'd, to amule the *Spaniards* with a belief that the Duke of Orleans was in Earnest, while he was endeavouring to get out of their Hands as soon and as well as he cou'd. The poor Fellow was sacrific'd to the Bloody Politicks of *Richlieu* and *Puylaurens*. There happen'd another Accident in this Affair of the Treaty, which look'd like Collusion. The King of Spain's Ratification of it was sent to *Flanders* by a Ship from *Sebastian*, which either thro' streis of Weather, or rather Treachery, was driven into *Calais*, and this Paper, of all the rest, happen'd to fall into the Hands of the Mayor of that Town, who sent it to Court, and Orders were dispatch'd to the Governors of the Frontiers to be on their Guard, tho' *Richlieu* and *Puylaurens* still carry'd on the Reconciliation of the Two Royal Brothers, and it daily drew nearer to an End.

The New League between *Gaston* and the *Spaniards*, tho' manag'd with so much Treachery on the Duke of Orleans's side, made *Richlieu* prepare for an open Rupture with Spain, knowing the Inconstancy of Orleans, and the readiness of the Court of *Madrid* to support him. In order to this he set Treaties of Alliance on foot with several Neighbouring Princes, especially of *Italy*, and the Count de *Noailles* was dispatch'd away to *Rome*, to keep the Pope from taking Measures in favour of the House of *Austria*. *Urban* was then about to send an Extraordinary Nuntio to *Paris*, to mediate for the Queen Mother, the Duke of Orleans, and the House of *Lorraine*. This Nuntio was to be *Julius*
Mazarine,

Mazarine, who since his Successful Negotiations to put a stop to the War in *Italy*, had embrac'd the Ecclesiastical Profession. The Pope thought he cou'd send no Body else that wou'd be more agreeable to the *French* Court; but *Richlieu* was jealous of *Mazarine's* great Capacity. He was afraid least the Cunning Insinuating *Italian*, shou'd make use of the Privilege of Nuntio, to entertain the King in Private, and speak in favour of the Princes he resolv'd to continue to Prosecute; therefore, one of the Count *de Noailles's* Instructions was to do his utmost to prevent *Mazarine's* being sent to *France*; which, however, he cou'd not obtain, the *Italian* having too well secur'd his Interest against all the Intrigues of the *French* Ambassador. Tho' the Count *de Noailles* joyn'd with the Marechal *de Crequi* to obtain the Pope's Dissolution of the Duke of *Orleans's* Marriage, yet both *Urban*, and his Nephew Cardinal *Barberino*, were Inflexible, and wou'd by no means consent to it.

Another Mortification happen'd to *Richlieu* about the same time, he being disappointed in his Election to the Coadjutorship of the Bishoprick of *Spire* in *Germany*, to which he pretended. The Elector of *Triers* was Bishop of that Diocess, and being in the Power of the *French*, the Cardinal thought he might easily get himself declar'd his Coadjutor. But the Emperor order'd his Ambassador at *Rome*, to represent to the Pope, that he wou'd by no means suffer *Richlieu* to enjoy any Benefice in the Empire, and would rather hazard his Crown than give Investiture of it to the greatest Enemy of his House. If the Cardinal had got that Bishoprick, he doubted not of getting that of *Triers* also with the Electorate. The Elector, brib'd by *Richlieu*, engag'd the Chapter of *Spire* in his Interest, and they sent a Canon to *Rome* to sollicite in favour of the Cardinal. The Canon was supported by the Minister of *France*, but *Urban* wou'd not hear of the Cardinal's Admission to that Coadjutorship, saying, It was against the German Concordat, adding, would the *French* be pleas'd if Germans were sent to Govern them; and whatever the

Ambas-

Ambassador cou'd urge in behalf of *Richlieu*, the Co-adjutorship cou'd not be obtain'd for him. The same Year, 1634, was *Marcheville* the Ambassador of France at *Constantinople*, for some Insolences committed there by him, order'd to be gone in half an Hour's Time on Pain of Death, a Ship being got ready for him to embark upon so short Warning. *Charnace*, the French Minister in *Holland*, concluded a Treaty with the Dutch against the Spaniards, who having laid Siege to *Maestricht*, *Gaston*, Duke of *Orleans*, was present at it, but the Marquis d' *Ayetone* gave him only good Words, and had he been dispos'd to have executed his Treaty with the Spaniards, they were in no Disposition, or rather Condition, to execute it on their Part, which made him so chagrin with them, that *Delbene* easily perswaded *Paylaurens* to get the Treaty of Accommodation renew'd. It was done at first by Letters to prevent its being known, for fear *Mary de Medicis* shou'd obstruct it; we shall see in the sequel how it succeeded.

We have frequently observ'd that this Prime Minister of *Lewis the Just* was a most irreconcilable Enemy, and his Revenge descended to the lowest Objects. He cou'd not bear Opposition nor Contradiction tho' but in a Paper Quarrel; such Ministers dread the Appearance of Truth, and will not fail to punish severely those that dare speak it against them. The Curate of *St. Peter's* in *London*, whose Name was *Grandier*, had written a Satyr, in which *Richlieu* was not spar'd; and the Cardinal to be reveng'd on him, stood by the Monks of *St. Cross* at *London*, who accus'd *Grandier* of Sorcery, and having bewitch'd the *Ursuline* Nuns of that Place, several of whom pretended to be possess'd with Devils, and laid it all to the charge of *Grandier*, who was Governor of that Nunnery. The Man was Learned, a good Preacher, and pleasant in Conversation; he had also written a Book against the Celibacy of the Priests, and spoken freely of some other Practices of the *Romish* Church. This gave *Richlieu* a handle to

to have him prosecuted, and to make his Prosecution go down with the People. The Credulous Vulgar believ'd that the Nuns were really possess'd, and by his means too. But the Authors of this Farce perform'd their Parts so ill, and *Grandier* defended himself so well, that it was a long Time before Judges could be found to Condemn him. The Parliament of *Paris*, who never condemn any one for Magick alone, were not permitted to have Cognizance of the Affair, and those that took it upon them, to please *Richlieu*, committed such Over-sights in their pretended Exorcisims, that the Spectators were fully convinc'd of *Grandier's* Innocence by the time his Process was finish'd, and his Judges condemn'd him to be burnt. *Richlieu* took this Matter so much to Heart, that Father *Joseph* was sent to *Loudun* to examine Matters, and prepare a way for *Laubardemont*, a Councillor of State and the Cardinal's Creature, to try *Grandier* in Commission with other hireling Judges. *Joseph* not finding things so well attested as he wish'd for, cunningly disengag'd himself from the Business, which *Laubardemont* went thro' with the Cruelty of such Mercenary Magistrates. Several Persons of Quality went to *Loudun* to see the Nuns that were possess'd, and hear the Exorcisims of those that were to Cure them. The Exorcists affecting to shew their Learning, spoke in *Greek*, but it had no Effect on the Nuns, who understood nothing but *French*; upon which the Exorcists cry'd out, *There are some Devils as dull as Ploughmen*. The Count *de Lude*, a Young Lord who lov'd to laugh, and gave no great Credit to this Conjurati^on, coming to *Loudun*, pretended to be convinc'd of the Truth of it, and said to one of the Exorcists, *I believe verriily 'tis as True as the Gospel, I have brought a Box of Relicks with me, they were given to one of my Ancestors, and have been kept in our Family ever since. Authentick Relicks deserve to be held in Veneration by Christians. Hugonots only deny the Power of them. But you know as well as I there are abundance of false ones, before I put*

mind

mine in a fine Depositry; I wou'd fain know whether they are true or no, I cannot have a better Proof of it than to apply them to one of these Possess'd Sisters, if my Relicks are Authentick, the Devil will find out the Virtue and Efficacy of them. The Priest approv'd of the Count's Thought, and one of them made a Sign, which Lude observ'd, and upon which one of the Sisters took her Cue. This Sister had no less than Seven Devils in her. The Exorcist advanc'd up to her and apply'd the Box, the Nun cry'd out in a most terrible Manner, she fell into violent Convulsions, the Box was taken away, and the Possess'd became as quiet as before. I don't doubt, Sir, says the Exorcist to the Count, you are now very well satisfy'd of the Truth of your Relicks. No more than I am of the Truth of the Possession, reply'd Lude gravely. Pray do us the Favour, says the Priest, to let us see what is in the Box. Ay, with all my Heart, reply'd the Count. The Box was open'd in the presence of abundance of People invited to be Witnesses of the Spectacle, and nothing found within it but some Hair and Feathers. The Priest cry'd in great Confusion, Ay, Sir, why did you mock us? The Count answer'd, And why my good Father do you mock God and the World so? The Abbot Quillet hearing that the Devil threaten'd to carry away any Body that did not believe in the Possession, went the next Day and defy'd him in presence of the Exorcists, declaring he laugh'd at his Threats. Laubardemont presently issu'd out his Warrant to take the Abbot up, and Quillet perceiving the whole was a Trick of Richlieu's, thought it best to be gone, accordingly he fled to Italy. Combater, the Cardinal's Neice, went to Loudun also to see the Ursulines, and was so honest as to tell her Uncle the Roguery of it was so plain, every one cry'd out shame against it. Upon which Richlieu took off the Pension of 4000 Livres that had been given to the Exorcists, and after that the Devils immediately left the Nunnery. They wou'd not declare the Possession to be an Imposture, because not only the Cardinal but the King himself had pro-

selfs d the belief of the Truth of it, the Bishop of the Diocess *la Rochepozai* had done the same. The Duke of *Orleans*, who came to *France* before this matter was over, profess'd it also, and 'twas made a sort of State Crime to disbelieve it. The Imposture was not acknowledg'd till after *Grandier* had suffer'd the cruel Sentence pronounc'd against him, and expir'd in the Flames, insulted by the Priests in the agony of Torment and Death.

The Parliament of *Paris*, on the 5th of *September* 1634, pass an Extraordinary *Arret*, by which the Duke of *Orleans*'s Marriage was not only declar'd Null, but the Dukes *Charles* and *Francis* of *Lorraine*, and the Princess of *Phaltaburgh*, their Sister, are condemn'd as if they were the King's Subjects; an Example which was imitated by the Son of *Lewis* the XIIIth, when he caus'd the same Affront to be offer'd in the same Court to the Prince of *Orange*, our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, by the Name of *Messire William* of *Nassau*, Burgher of the *Hague*, tho' as much a Sovereign as the Prince who Affronted him. This violent and unjust Proceeding compleated the Ruin of the Parliaments Reputation. All the World saw they had devoted themselves to the Will of the Minister, and declar'd Duke *Charles* Guilty of Felony and Rebellion, to give a Colour to the King's annexing the Dutchies of *Lorraine* and *Bar* to the Crown, and condemn'd the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* as a Rape upon his Person, tho' he had so solemnly confirm'd it since his Arrival at *Brussels*, and was so inflexible on the Article of its Dissolution.

I have already made mention of the Nunciature of *Mazarine* in *France*. The Artful, *Italian*, who was resolv'd to make his Court to the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, and gain the King's good Graces before he wou'd accept of that Employment, went to the *French* Ambassador, and protested 'twas forc'd upon him, and that he shou'd not obey his Holiness, but with the utmost Repugnances, desiring the Ambassador to assure *Richlieu*, he had not a Servant more at his Devotion than himself, and when he came to

to *France*, tho' the Business of *Lorraine* was the main Affair he was sent about; yet knowing the *French* Court were obstinately bent against these Princes, he spoke little in the behalf of them, and sacrific'd their Interests, and even the Interests of the Pope, whose Minister he was, to the Pleasure of *Lewis* and his Minister. The *Spaniards* were not so blind but they cou'd perceive it, and demanded of the Pope to recall him, which he cou'd not refuse them. In the sequel of this History will be seen, what a rare Minister such a false Intriguing Priest makes, a worthy Successor of *Richlieu* his Protector, and an admirable Preceptor for a Monarch who was to Triumph over the Liberties of his own Subjects and of all *Europe*.

Richlieu who carry'd every thing before him in *France*, and was become terrible to all the Princes and States round about him, was himself kept in perpetual Terror of Assassins. He fear'd no Body so much as *Chameloube*, and thinking he shou'd be safe if *Mary de Medicis* was further off, he got *Gondi*, the great Duke's Envoy, to go to *Brussels* under pretence of taking it in his way to *Holland*, and deliver a Letter from the great Duke inviting her to *Florence*. The Queen Mother wou'd not stir without the Participation of the King of *Spain*. She knew if she accepted of the great Duke's Offers, and was once on the other side of the Mountains, she shou'd never be recall'd to *France* again, and therefore she only return'd the great Duke's Complements with equal Affections and Civility, saying; *When there was no manner of hope of her being reconcil'd to the King her Son, she wou'd then retire to Italy.* *Gondi* finding she cou'd not be prevail'd upon to accept of his Master's Invitation, return'd to *Paris*, and represented the Matter to *Richlieu* as favourable as possible; but the Minister wou'd not abate any thing of his Inveteracy towards her, nor hear of any Treaty with her, till those that had abus'd him in Libels were deliver'd up; that was what stuck to him most, and will eternally stick to all ill Ministers. To set their Actions in a

true Light will ever be call'd Sedition. Where are the Proofs of this Truth, cry their Sycophants, bring them out, and who will be convinc'd by it, that hope to make their Fortune by Favour? Where are the Impartial Judges that will decide a Cause against a Favourite, where the Merit that is a match for Power? *Lewis* gave *Gondi* several Audiences, but never so much as ask'd how his Mother did, which was the more strange in him, because he pretended to great Scruples of Conscience in other Cases, and one wou'd think his Duty to his Mother is plain enough taught him in the Fifth Commandement; for let Princes imagine what they will, the Table is as binding to them as to their Subjects, and their Portion must be with them in the other World according as they have kept God's Laws in this. One of these Scruples came upon him, with respect to his assisting the German Protestants. 'Tis thought that his Confessor, the Jesuit *Maillant*, had also allarm'd him on Account of his Usurping the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, and Banishing his Mother and Brother. It was suppos'd the Superior of the Order, or perhaps the Pope, had secretly given Order to *Maillant*, to set *Lewis's* Soul in motion on these Articles. The King was so far mov'd by his Confessor's Remonstrances, that he reproach'd *Richlieu* with having put him upon several unjust Enterprizes. The Cardinal not doubting but *Maillant* was the Occasion of these Reproaches, endeavour'd to perswade the King, not to let the Jesuits any longer have the Direction of his Conscience, but to make a Bishop of the Kingdom his Confessor, whom he knew wou'd depend on himself. To quiet his Majesty's Conscience, Eight Doctors of the *Sorbonne* were to be consulted with on the Difficulties he had started; Four of the Doctors declar'd his Scruples were well ground-ed, and Four, brib'd by *Richlieu*, assur'd his Majesty there was nothing in them, that he might lawfully assist the Hereticks, and let his Mother languish in Exile. Norwithstanding this, *Lewis* still carry'd himself very reservedly to the Cardinal, who

who, as he was wont to do on these little Mifunderstandings, retir'd from Court, affected to be weary of the Fatigues of the Ministry, and desir'd to live at Ease. *Lewis* being left a while to himself, soon felt the weight of Affairs too heavy for him, and being involv'd in Intricare Matters with the House of *Austria*, tending daily more and more to a Rupture, he long'd passionately to have his Minister come and ease him of his Burthen. The Cardinal remain'd some Days in his Retirement at *Chilli*, and several People no longer made a doubt of his Disgrace; those that wish'd it, did their utmost to conceal it, having paid too dear for shewing their joy at it, when he was formerly so near being remov'd. The Secretaries of State, who acted in concert with *Richlieu*, carry'd to *Lewis* all the Dispatches that requir'd the most Expeditious Answers: The King not knowing what Answers to make to Things he did not understand, pretended to go a Hunting, and Rode as fast as he cou'd to *Chilli*, where after much Intreatment, he prevail'd upon the Cardinal to return to that Ministry which he had resolv'd never to quit, if it was in the Power of Cunning and Treachery to maintain it.

I avoid as much as possible to enter further into the History of *France*, than to expose the Acts which her Ministers have made use of to establish Arbitrary Government; their Negotiations with the *Sweedes* and other Foreign States, and their Intrigues to weaken the House of *Austria* are to be met with in all their Histories, and I endeavour to touch those Points only which other Historians durst not meddle with. After the Rout of the *Sweedes* at *Nortlingen* in *Germany*, Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* sent the Standards, taken by his Troops, to *Mary de Medicis* and the Duke of *Orleans*, the Baron de *Clinchamp* who carry'd them past privately through *Paris*, which when the King and his Minister afterwards heard of, they were highly offended at such a piece of Presumption. The Duke of *Lorraine* hop'd by this Complement, and the Negotia-

tions of that Baron to prevail upon *Gaston* not to submit to the hard Conditions the Cardinal wou'd impose on him. But the Treaty of Accommodation was renew'd and *Puylaurens* caus'd it to be carry'd with so much Precipitation, that 'twas concluded in a few Days, and sign'd the 1st of *October* 1634. The chief Articles were those of Amnesty, and the Dissolution of the Marriage. The latter was refer'd to the Pope, the former excepted only *La Vieuville*, *La Coigneux*, *Monfigot*, *Vieuxpont*, and the Bishops of *Languedoc*, who had joyn'd *Gaston*. Will the Example of the Duke of *Orleans* encourage any one to embrace the Party of weaker Princes, who so easily abandon them for their Convenience to the stronger? Why shou'd one of those Gentlemen, whose only Crime was their leaving their Country and their All to follow him, have been left out of the Pardon. But such was ever *Gaston's* Ingratitude, and Inconstancy. Care was taken of *Puylaurens* in the Treaty, he was to be marry'd to one of *Richlieu's* Cousins, the Baron de *Pantchateau's* Daughter; but the Cardinal all the while amus'd him with the Promises of Friendship. He cou'd nor think of leaving *Gaston* in the Hands of so aspiring a Favourite, and waited only for an Opportunity to shut *Puylaurens* up in a Place where he cou'd do no Mischief, saying often, while this Treaty was Negotiating, *We shall in Time have Age*, a Pun on *Puylaurens's* Name, which was *Antoine de L'Age*.

A matter of this Concernment cou'd not easily be carry'd on, and the Marquis d' *Ayetone* have no knowledge of it; and when the Duke of *Orleans* got to *Namure*, in order to retire out of the *Spanish Netherlands*, he found *Ayetone* there to his great surprize, apprehending he might be stop't, but the Marquis, tho' he let him know he understood what had been doing, spoke him very fair, and promis'd to take care that he shou'd receive more satisfaction in the Low-Countries than he hitherto had done, occasion'd by the ill State of their Affairs. The Duke return'd to *Brussels*, and Two or Three Days after

after left the Place under pretence of going a Fox Hunting. A little while after *Puylaurens* follow'd in his Coach, took Horse in the Suburbs, joyn'd his Master in the Forrest of *Soignies*, and with about Ten or a Dozen of his Domesticks, *Gaston* got safe to *Capelle*. From thence *Delbene* was sent to Court to inform the King of his Brother's arrival, and *St. Quentin* to Madam and the Marquis d' *Ayeton*, to acquaint them with the Reasons that induc'd *Monsieur* to leave the *Netherlands*. *St. Quentin* was order'd to tell the Dutches of *Orleans*, that the Duke wou'd always Love her as he ought, and as he had promis'd her, of which he desir'd her to rest assur'd, and that no Consideration in the World shou'd make him change.

Tho' *Puylaurens* had been very Instrumental in facilitating the Accommodation of the Two Royal Brothers, *Richieu* resolving not to let him remain near *Monsieur*, began betimes to give him Jealousies of what he was to expect, unless he did very thing, and make his Master do every thing the Cardinal wou'd have him, the latter having nothing more at Heart than the Dissolution of the Marriage, the House of *Lorraine* being the most Powerful of *Richieu's* Enemies, and the Gentlemen that were sent to Complement *Monsieur* on his Arrival at *Marles* near *Laon*, were order'd to sound him on that Article. *Puylaurens* who knew his Master's Interest, and his Inclination, were for adhering to the Marriage, declar'd himself frankly to the same Purpose. The Gentlemen told him the King was resolv'd to have it annul'd, and had only refer'd it to the Church to save Appearances. *Puylaurens* persisted in his Opinion, and *Bautru*, one of the Gentlemen, said to him, *If this is your Resolution, Sir, I have a great many Reasons to wish you were still at Brussels.* *Puylaurens* knew very well what he meant by it, but seem'd not to hear him. He found he had put himself into the Hands of those who cou'd not presently forgive, and that he shou'd struggle with more Difficulties than he was aware of to preserve himself. *Gaston* was discontented at what *Bautru* said

to his Favourite. He arriv'd, out of Humour, at *St. Germain-en-laye* the 21st of October. *St. Simon*, the King's Favourite, receiv'd him in the Court of the Castle, and conducted him to *Lewis*, who expected him in his Chamber, where were the Count *de Soissons*, the Dukes *de Longueville* and *Montbazou*, the Marshalls *de Chaulnes*, *de Chatillon*, and *de Breze*, the Keeper of the Seals, and a great number of Lords to be Witnesses of the Interview, or rather the Farce that was to be play'd. *Gaston* when he enter'd, made a very low Bow to his Elder Brother, which he follow'd with a study'd Complement, wherein he beg'd Pardon for all his Faults, desir'd the King to take him into his Favour, and promis'd for the future to be faithful and submissive to his Majesty's Pleasure in all Things. The King reply'd, *Do not speak of what is past, all is forgotten, let us embrace like good Brothers.* They Kiss'd three Times with all outward appearance of Tenderness, and *Gaston* presented *Puy-laurens* and other Gentlemen, who came from *Brussels* with him, to his Majesty, who receiv'd them all very favourably. *Richlieu* arriv'd at the same time from *Ruell* with his Court, almost as numerous as the King's, when he came up to them, *Lewis* presented *Richlieu* to his Brother, whom he desir'd to love the Cardinal. Sir, says the Cunning Priest, *I was extreemly griev'd all the while you were absent, for that it hinder'd me of satisfying the strong Passion I have always had to serve you. I shall now fetch up that lost Time, and take hold of all Occasions which your Reconciliation to the King will give me, to shew my profound Respect and my sincere Devotion to your Person.* *Gaston* embrac'd *Richlieu*, protesting he was entirely undeceiv'd, and that all the ill Impressions which had been given him of the Cardinal were Fasse, promising to follow the Counsels of so able and so well affected a Minister.

The next Day the Farce was renew'd with more merry Incidents, for all this while did the Duke of *Orleans* hate the Cardinal as heartily as ever; all that while did *Richlieu* fear the Duke, and to the utmost

utmost of his Power render him daily ill Offices. *Gaston* went to *Ruell* to Dine with the Cardinal, who receiv'd him with all possible Honour. They had a Private Conference together, in which the Artful Minister got out of the Duke a great part of his most Important Secrets. The Cardinal presented him with the Napkin himself, there was but one Elbow Chair set, which was for his Royal Highness. The Feast was Magnificent, and after it *Gaston* won Six Thousand Pistoles at play; and 'twas plain to all the Company, that *Richlieu* overacted his part of Complaisance and Civility, which it is probable *Gaston* saw himself; for the next Day he took his leave of the King, went to his House at *Limours*, from thence to *Orleans*, and thence to *Blots*, where he grew daily more and more out of Humour with his Brother and the Minister.

The Cardinal in the mean time, order'd several Doctors of the *Sobronne*, to attend *Paylaurens*, and answer what Objection he had to make to the lawfulness of Dissolving *Monsieur's* Marriage, but *Gaston's* Favourite told them, Gentlemen, I am convinced of your Capacity, and your Reasons seem good; but *Monsieur* is not yet sufficiently satisfy'd, you wou'd not advise me to press him to do any thing against his Conscience. This not succeeding, *Bouthilliers* Superintendent of the Finances, and Father *Joseph*, the Cardinal's intimate Friends and Confidants, were sent to argue the Case with him, which was no more effectual than the Arguments of the *Sorbonne* Doctors. *Paylaurens* resolv'd not to undertake a thing which his Master was averse to, or did not think fit to comply with, till something more advantageous was offer'd him. The Cardinal perceiving no good was to be done by Artifices with *Gaston's* Favourite, set himself to get him out of the way, as he had done the *Mareschal de Marillac*, the Duke de *Montmerency* and others.

Monsieur himself was reaz'd by the Ecclesiastics and others, whom *Lewis* and *Richlieu* sent to get him to consent to a Declaration of the Nullity of his Marriage, but neither their Sophistry nor Perswa-

sions

sions cou'd extort from him the least Word which tended to what they importun'd him to comply with. His Answer will shew us how well *Lewis* the XIIIth deserv'd the Sirname of *Just*, by assuming a Power over the Conscience of his Brother, in the most tender Point that cou'd be, that of his Marriage. For God's sake, cannot a Prince of the Blood bind himself by the Laws of God without his Brother's Consent to it? Has not *Gaston* as good as Twice marry'd the Princess of *Lorraine*, first at *Nanci*, and then at *Brussels*? Is not a Marriage perform'd with all the Solemnities requir'd by the Laws of God and Man, consummated by the Parties, and confirm'd by a Cohabitation of many Months valid in the sight of God? What then signifies the pretence of *Lewis* and his Minister, God gave leave, and then the Kings was not wanted to Consecrate it. Let us see what *Gaston* said himself to the Divines and others, with equal Sense and Courage: *The pretended Nullity of my Marriage is founded in the Arret of the Parliament of Paris, on the Princes of Lorraine having seduc'd me and forc'd me to marry the Princess Margaret their Sister. If that's false my Marriage is valid and lawful, now I declare that those Princes design'd nothing but to put their Sister into a Nunnery. As I had an Esteem for her Merit and Virtue, I demanded her of them, with such pressing Instances, that they cou'd not refuse me. Since they will have it that there was Seduction and Violence in the Case they are on my side; if the King orders me absolutely to Live apart from my lawful Wife I will obey his Majesty, but will never have another as long as Madam lives.*

I think nothing in the World can be plainer to prove there was no Violence and Seduction in the Case; besides, is it not very merry to hear grave Divines, and the Parliament of *Paris* determine for the Dissolution of the Marriage on account of the Rape committed on the Person of the Duke of *Orleans*? Such Allegations as these may do before a mercenary, cowardly Court of Judicature, and be made use of by Ambitious self-interested Priests, but

but at the Great Day of Account, when all that were concern'd shall be ask'd why they divided whom God had joyn'd, will this Rape, this Violence and Seduction be a sufficient Plea? Will the King's Consent be there wanting to make his Brother's Marriage with a Princess be esteem'd valid, or is the Pleasure of Kings above the Laws of God too? And are they exempted from the Eternal Punishment that is threaten'd to those that break them? I have already carry'd my Reflections on this matter as far, and I shall do it as often as I am provok'd to it by the lawless Practices of Arbitrary Power.

While the Duke of Orleans was at Blois, the Marquis de Celade took that Place in his way from Flanders to Spain, he waited on Gaston, and found he had left the Court because he had met with new occasions of Disgust; he immediately gave the Marquis d' Ayetone notice of it, who conferr'd upon it with the Duke de Lerma and the President Rose at the Princess of Chimai's, where the Countess du Fargis lodg'd, they sent for Lassere, whom Monsieur had left with the Dutchess of Orleans, and in whom he and Puylaurens very much confided. The Marquis de Ayetone bad him write to the Duke, That they understood the new Causes of Complaint which had been given him in France, and tho' he had left them in a manner a little Extraordinary, they had still the same Respect for his Person, and the same Passion to serve him. They offer'd him a Retreat in the Territories of the Catholick King, where he shou'd have the same Liberty and the same Security he had had before, and they wou'd endeavour to entertain him with more Dignity. Notwithstanding that all possible care was taken to send an Express to Monsieur with their Advice as secretly as cou'd be, yet Richlieu than, whom no Body ever manag'd his Intelligence better, nor paid more for it, intercepted the Packet, and this hasten'd the Imprisonment of Puylaurens, who had not been created Duke and Peer as was promis'd him, nor been marry'd to the Cardinal's Cousin, both which Ca-

ston sent to demand of Richlieu pursuant to the Treaty. *Puylaurens*, embarrass'd by the Cardinal's affected Delays, and frighten'd by his Reproaches which he took to be so many Threats, thought of retiring to *England*. And *Richlieu*, well inform'd of what pass'd at *Blois*, began to be afraid of *Monsieur's* resenting this neglect of his Favourite contrary to the Treaty made before he left *Brussels*. So he dispatch'd the Abbot *Delbene* to *Blois*, to tell his Royal Highness and *Puylaurens*, that the latter might come to *Paris* and conclude his Marriage with the Second Daughter of the Baron de *Pont Chateau*, the Duke de la *Valette* had marry'd the Elder, and the Count de *Guiche*, Son to the Count de *Grammont*, Madamoiselle du *Plessis Chivrai*, as near a kin to the Cardinal as the other Two Ladies.

That Men of small or desperate Fortunes, tho' of great Titles, are fond of Alliances with Favourites and Ministers is not strange, but that those Men or Women of Quality who have large Estates, and can support themselves by them independant of Favour, shou'd involve themselves in the Fortune of such as have arbitrarily held the Reins of Government, seems to me to be very Impolitick. Honours that are New are like new Wines to which Age only gives Spirit and Value. That such Ministers and Favourites use all their Arts and all their Power to unite their Interests with the most Noble and Puissant Families is what may be expected. But the Disgrace that almost always befalls them and those that are ally'd to them are methinks a Lesson to the Great not to ally themselves to them, or have to do with them farther than Prudence and Decency require.

Gaston returning with *Puylaurens* to *Paris*, the Cardinal entertain'd them with Extraordinary Magnificence, and carry'd them to *St. Germain-en-Laye* to finish the Business in the King's Presence. A Young Gentlewoman who wou'd have been glad enough to have marry'd a *Financer*, had not her Cousin been Prime Minister, cannot now be dispos'd of to a Duke

Duke and Peer, but the King himself must assist at the Wedding to give a Sanction to it. The Ceremony was perform'd the 28th of November 1634. and the Lordship of *Aiguillon* was erected into a Dutchy and Peerage in favour of *Puylaurens*, to whom 'twas given. He was now as happy as Heart cou'd wish, having 600000 Crowns in Land and Money; the Favour of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, and the Promise of the Cardinal to be a Marechal of *France*, to have the Command of an Army and Immense Riches, but then he must depend entirely upon him, which the Duke de *Puylaurens* was so far from being resolv'd on, that he despis'd his Promises, and made 'em the subject of his Raillery. He was so indiscreet, that when the Cardinal desir'd him to break off Friendship with one of his Confidants, *Coudray-Montpensier*, instead of obliging him, he took him Home, and gave him an Apartment adjoining to his own.

The Proud Duke d' *Epernon* was forc'd to consent to the Marriage of his Son the Duke de *laValette* to *Richlieu's* Cousin, to get himself out of the Troubles in which he was involv'd by his Quarrel with *Sourdis* Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux*. The matter was refer'd to the Bishops in and about *Paris* to determine; the Duke de *laValette* desir'd to be heard by them, and made a Submissive Speech, protesting his Father would do whatever they shou'd require of him. Some of the Prelates were for accommodating of it, but the Majority, influenc'd by *Richlieu* and *Sourdis*, went in a Body to the King and demanded Justice for the Violence committed by *Epernon* against one of their Order. The Arch-Bishop of *Arles* spoke for them to his Majesty, whom he did his utmost to irritate against the haughty Duke. *Cospean*, Bishop of *Nantes*, was so offended at the Arch-Bishop's aggravating the Duke's pretended Crime, that he cou'd not forbare telling his Brethren, 'Tis very strange; if the Devil cou'd submit himself to God as humbly as Monsieur d' *Epernon* submits to the Pastors of the Church, he wou'd obtain Mercy. And we refuse to shew it to an Old Lord

who has always been very servicable to the Catholic Religion. Such was the Moderation of those French Priests, such perhaps wou'd be the Moderation of others, if they had such a Prince and such a Ministry to support them. In fine, the Cardinal after the Arch-Bishop had done speaking, pronounc'd the Sentence, That the Duke d' Epernon was depriv'd of all his Offices and Dignities till he was juridically and solemnly absolv'd by the Church. Epernon had Recourse to the Pope, who granted him only a Provisional Absolution, not to be in Force till he had the Arch-Bishop of Bourdeaux's, whom Richlieu supported at Rome with all his Credit. At last the Duke and Cardinal de la Valette soften'd him so far as to consent that the Matter shou'd be made up on Condition d' Epernon parted with his Government of Metz to the Cardinal de la Valette, and that the Cardinal's Brother marry'd his Cousin. However, Sourdis as True a Priest as any of his Religion, wou'd not comply with the least Alteration in the manner of the Duke d' Epernon's receiving his Absolution, he wou'd give it no where but at the Door of one of the Parish Churches of Bourdeaux, and in presence of Six Counsellors of that Parliament. His Imperious Behaviour was such, that Lewis himself was offended at it, and even with his Minister for making such a Business of a Trifle, and mortifying so old an Officer to the Crown as was the Duke d' Epernon.

When Sourdis came to Court, after his Tryumph, he immediately receiv'd an Order to depart, which Richlieu himself cou'd not get repeal'd, and his Enemies began to conceive hopes that his Tyranny was drawing to an end; but he who made no Scruple to abandon his Benefactress the Queen Mother, when it was for his Interest, wou'd not hazard it for a Creature. He gave up Sourdis to his Master's Resentment, was presently reinstated in full Favour; insomuch, that to his Two Troops of Guards, his Troop of Light Horse, and his Gens d' Armes, were added Three Hundred Musketeers for the greater Safety of his Person.

What

What made *Richlieu* so inflexible in the Affair of the Duke of *Orleans's* Marriage was the hopes he had of his prevailing with *Monsieur* to marry *Combalet*, if his Marriage with the Princess of *Lorraine* was annul'd ; that *Richlieu's* unmeasurable Ambition went so far, one may see by the Attestation of those that knew the Court very well, and particularly *Monsieur Fontrailles* who tells us, *He imagin'd, that by marrying Combalet to Monsieur, his Power wou'd be equal, and perhaps superior, to those of the Ancient Mayors of the Palace.* What might he not have hope from the Duke of *Orleans's* Inconstancy, if he cou'd have got *Puylaurens* to have seconded him ? What might he not expect from the King's Weakness, which was so great that the same *Fontrailles* assures us, *His natural Timidity was augmented by the Perswasion, that he wanted the Talents necessary for Government, and cou'd do nothing without the Cardinal's assistance.* When Princes have such a mean Opinion of themselves, and so good a one of their Ministers, how many and how hard Masters will their Poor Subjects have ? *Richlieu* believing that *Puylaurens* was the main Obstacle to the Duke of *Orleans's* consenting to the Dissolution of his Marriage, resolv'd to sacrifice him to his Revenge on the first Opportunity. *Richlieu* had discover'd that there had been a Letter sent to the Pope before *Gaston* left *Brussels*, desiring that his Holiness wou'd not mind what was told him of the Duke of *Orleans's* consenting to the Nullity of his Marriage after his return, for that it wou'd be extorted from him by Violence. The Cardinal upbraided *Puylaurens* with not having told him of that Letter, the latter reply'd, *You never ask'd me, Sir, whether his Royal Highness had writen to Rome.* The Cardinal swore, *He might have sav'd him the Trouble of asking the Question ;* and left him with a Look that Spoke nothing but Fury and Vengeance. Accordingly he continually represented him to the King as a dangerous Person in the Interest of the *Spaniards* with whom he corresponded. *Richlieu* had no Proof of such Correspondence, and 'tis not likely that *Puylaurens*

laurens who expected to rise still higher in France by his Master and his new Cousin's Favour, would carry on any unlawful Intelligence with the Spaniards as long as he had those Expectations; but what says a French Author, Richlieu spar'd no Man who cou'd hinder or retard the execution of his Projects, and Lewis naturally inclining to Acts of Severity, consented with Pleasure to the Proposal that was made him to secure Puylaurens's Power. In order to this, his Majesty, as he had done more than once before, consented also to be in a Plot with his Minister to apprehend him. He gave out that he would have a Royal Ball in the Carnaval, and Gaston and his Favourite were invited to it; they both came to Court, and were caress'd more than usually. The 14th of February 1635 was the Day on which this Ball was to be given, the Guard of the Louvre was doubl'd, one of the Duke of Orleans's Footmen observ'd it, and gave his Master Intimation of it, but Gaston not taking much notice of it, went to the King's Chamber and talk'd with him till Richlieu came. The Cardinal din'd that Day with Seguier, Keeper of the Seals, where also din'd du Fargis and Coudrai-Montpensier, Two of Puylaurens's most intimate Friends, whom they kept there for fear they shou'd discover any thing. Richlieu after Dinner took du Fargis to the Louvre, and Coudrai-Montpensier stay'd with the Keeper, who was to have him arrested if he offer'd to be gone. The Duke de Puylaurens did not come so soon as he was expected, which made Lewis and Richlieu afraid their Plot was detected; they kept it so Secret, that the Favourite St. Simon, lately also created a Duke and Peer, knew nothing of the matter. At last Puylaurens came; after a little Talk with him, the King carry'd the Duke of Orleans into his Closet, whither Richlieu and some others follow'd them. This was the Signal to the Marquis du Gordes to arrest Puylaurens, and to the Count de Charroft to arrest du Fargis. Puylaurens was examin'd that very Evening by the Magistrates, but no Crime which justify'd this usage of him cou'd be prov'd upon

upon him; however, he was thrown into Prison, and had a cruel Keeper put over him; he lay there in great Misery Four Months, and then dy'd of Poison, as several Authors report, and as others of the Spotted Fever; but all agree that the bad Air of the Goal was enough to have kill'd him in that time. Happy's the Nation that has so Glorious a Minister at their Head, as was *Richlieu*, where the Liberty of the greatest Lord depends on him, and Guards are call'd to hurry People to Dungeons or Death, unheard or unconvicted, with as much ease as are the Theatrical Murders of the Tyrants of the State. The King gave his Brother good Words, so did *Richlieu*, they also spoke to *Gaston's* other Servants very fair, and engag'd the Captain of his Guards, *Goulas* and others of them, to follow the Example of the Abbot *Delbene*, who, while he pretended to serve the Duke of *Orleans* with more than ordinary Zeal, was still in the Confidence and Interest of the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Orleans* being, as has been said, in the King's Closet when his Favourite was arrested, to prevent the ill Effects of his Brother's and the Cardinal's Aversion to *Paylaurens*, he protested he would abandon him to his Majesty's Justice, provided he was found Guilty of any Crime since his Return to *France*. *Richlieu* on the other hand endeavour'd to soften *Gaston's* Resentment, and remove the Jealousies he might conceive upon this Enterprize, by assuring him the King was ready to give him new Proofs of his good Will, and that he shou'd hereafter be call'd to all the King's Counsells; We will talk of that another Time, reply'd the Duke, I only ask you now, whether the King will permit me to lie at the Hotel of *Guise*; *Richlieu* answer'd, Your Royal Highness may do what you please, for his Majesty had left them together. The Duke having taken leave of his Brother, went immediately to the Hotel of *Guise*, whither *Richlieu* was about to follow him, to use further Arguments to bring him into Temper, for he appear'd very Sullen on the apprehending of his Favourite; but the Cardinal,

as Powerful as he was, was afraid of his using Reprizals when it was in his Power, wherefore he sent the Cardinal *de la Valette* and *Bouthillier* to make new Protestations of Service, and assure him he was very much troubled that *Puylaurens's* ill Conduct had put the King under a Necessity of securing his Person. The Duke of *Orleans* heard them patiently, and then having declar'd that he did not believe his Favourite had held any Intelligence with the Court of *Brussels* since he left it, unless it was about Matters of Gallantry, he proceeded thus: *If Puylaurens has caus'd this Misfortune to himself, because he has not advis'd me to take any Step to the Prejudice of my Marriage, I must declare plainly, that neither he nor any Man in the World shall ever obtain my consent to a Thing which I believe to be contrary to my Honour and my Conscience. I will live separated from my Wife, since the King will have it so, what greater Proof of my Submission can be requir'd of me. If his Majesty will Prosecute the Dissolution of my Marriage I must bear it, but shall never demand it; God forbid I shou'd ever be so base as to complain of having suffer'd the least Violence in a thing I desir'd, and press'd the Conclusion of it. There never was greater Evidence of the Validity of a Marriage, and of the Violence they wou'd have put upon Gaston's Conscience, than this repeated Solemn Declaration of his having voluntarily commenc'd and compleated it; yet his Treacherous Servants, brib'd by Richlieu, continually importun'd him to submit to the King's Pleasure, representing to him, that his Grandeur and the Safety even of his Person depended so entirely on the Cardinal, his Ruin wou'd be inevitable unless he enter'd into stricter Engagements with him, whether they intended his marrying *Combalet* or only to favour *Richlieu* in his Ministry, is not determin'd to us. Be it as it will, Gaston wou'd not be govern'd by them, but took *Montresor* into his Confidence instead of *Puylaurens*, and to that Gentleman he freely open'd himself, having very just Suspicions of the Fidelity of most of his other Domesticks, which increas'd his Chagrin, and to divert it, he spent his*

Time

Time at *Blois*, *Orleans*, and other Places of his *Apernage* in Country Sports and Diversions.

The Pleasure of the arresting *Puylaurens* was very much abated, by News that the *Imperialists* had surpriz'd *Philipsburgh*, where *Arnaud*, a Creature of Father *Joseph's*, Commanded. The King thought no more of his Ball, but went and shut himself up at *Versailles*, the Cardinal pretended to be Sick, and retir'd to *Ruel*; his Enemies were inwardly pleas'd that this Disgrace had happen'd by means of one of his Confidants, Father *Joseph* having recommended *Arnaud* to be Governor of that Important Place, which the *French* had possess'd themselves of to facilitate their junction with the *Swedes* in *Germany*. But *Richlieu*, with all possible Dispatch, sent away Orders to fortify *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, and reinforce'd the Garrisons on the *German* Side. An Apology was also publish'd for *Arnaud*, throwing the Fault on the Treachery of the *Germans* who were in the Place. *Lewis* recover'd himself after a few Days Melancholly, and return'd to *Paris*, where his Minister was arriv'd before him, and had renew'd the Preparations for the Ball.

I shall not enter into the Particulars of the Cardinal's Intrigues with the *Swedes*, the Princes of *Italy*, and the States General of the *United Provinces*, only observe, that so long ago did *France* look with a greedy Eye on the *Netherlands*, which by her Treaty with the States, made in 1635, were to be thus divided. *Lewis* reserv'd for himself all the Maritime Places as far as *Blankenbergh*, inclusively, with Two Leagues within Land, and the Cities of *Ostend*, *Namur*, and *Tbionville*. The States General were more moderate, and only desir'd *Dam*, *Hulst*, the Country of *Waes*, the Town of *Gelder* and *Stevensmaere*. The rest of the Country they pretended to set free and to erect it into a new Republick; for the *French*, as good Catholics as they were, as much as they Preach up *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, have practis'd it as little themselves, and have as much tempted other Nations not to practise it as any Nation in *Europe*. They now joyn with those Repub-

licans the Dutch, to invite the Subjects of the King of Spain, in the Low Countries, to declare for the Common Cause, to drive out the Spaniards and set themselves at Liberty. They promis'd to back this Invitation with an Army of 50000 Foot, and 10000 Horse; not long after the War with Spain was declar'd, but the House of *Austria* was not then so low that *France* made her Market of it so much as she has done since, by *Peace* as well as *War*.

There are some Remarkable Passages on this subject, in the Memoirs of *Montresor* before mention'd. "The War, says he, was declar'd by the Sole Authority of the Cardinal, without assembling the States or consulting the Principal Lords of the Kingdom who ought to be summon'd to deliberate upon an Affair of that Nature, according as was always practis'd; but *Richlieu's* Pride was above all Laws, and he may very well be term'd the Flail of God to Punish the Sins of Men." 'Tis a *French* Man that tells us the *French* were always wont to have the States or the Principal Lords consulted about Peace and War; the Prerogative of their Monarchs in these Points is doubtless as extensive as any, but Affairs of that Nature were never reckon'd regularly manag'd, it seems, unless the States had it in Deliberation.

The Rupture with the House of *Austria* and the Business of the War, did not hinder *Richlieu* from Prosecuting his Revenge in the Affair of the Duke of *Orlean's* Marriage, in which he had also other Views, as has been hinted, and the Marriage of his Neice was the greatest of all of them.

By what we have already observ'd of the repeating the Solemnity in all its Forms at *Brussels*, and *Gaston's* frequent Declarations of his acting voluntarily, and by Choice, they cou'd not with any Face pretend it was *Clandestine* or by *Seduction*. There was no Pretence, but the consent of his Brother which was wanting. The Matter was therefore refer'd to an Assembly of the Clergy, held this Year at *Paris*, to give their *Free Gift* to the King. The Assembly appointed a Committee to examine whether the Presumptive

sumptive Heir to the Crown, cou'd lawfully Marry without leave of the Prince in Possession ; Let us see who compos'd this Committee to decide so Notable a Controversy. We find them to be Peter Fenouilles, Bishop of Montpellier, Jaques Cimus, Bishop of Seez, Leonard Etampes, Bishop of Chartres, Achilles de Harlai, Bishop of St. Malo, and Denis Cohon, Bishop of Nismes. Five Prelates, says Grotius, devoted to the Cardinal, which made every body believe their Opinion wou'd be exactly what he wou'd have it. 'Tis such Priests as these that bring Religion it self into Question. The wicked Examples of Ambitious Prelates have made more Scepticks than all the Difficulties rais'd by Men of little Faith and less Morality. The Divines who were consulted by the Bishops, were also all Creatures of the Cardinal, and they had the Impudence to call the Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, to witness to their Sincerity. So far did Richlieu's corruptions prevail, that Goudren, the Duke of Orlean's Confessor, sign'd the Answer of the Fathers of the Oratory for the Nullity. This good Father having had some Conversation with the Abbot de St. Cyran about it, and having cited the Council of Trent as an Authority, St. Cyran rejected it with Contempt ; That Assembly, said he, being only compos'd of Scholastick Divines, little conversant in Ecclesiastick Antiquity ; for which, not long after, Richlieu found an Occasion to throw the Abbot into the Bastille. The Clergy, as was expected, declar'd the Marriage Null, and the Bishop of Montpellier was sent to Rome to represent the Justice of that Declaration to the Pope. The Queen Mother and the Dutchess of Orleans, had their Agents there also, and Urban, at the Sollicitations of the Spaniards, wou'd not confirm that Declaration. What Mary de Medicis said on this Subject, in her Letter to the Pope, shews the Happiness of a People that have such Governors and Guides as these French Bishops ; I know those Prelates, says she, They are to Day of one Opinion, and to Morrow they will be of the contrary, if there shou'd happen to be a Minister less Unjust and less Violent than Cardinal Richlieu ; their Private Interests are

the only Rule of their Sentiments. Such are the Bishops that will be advanc'd by such Ministers, and no wonder the Duke of Orleans's Marriage was declar'd Void, by an Assembly who was guided by an Ambitious Tyrannical Priest, who, without that Declaration, cou'd not compass his Ends of making his Niece Queen of France, and himself Regent, with Absolute Sovereign Power, for that it was no *Chimera*, more than one Author of Sense and Judgment assure us. One of the Duke of Orleans's greatest Apprehensions, with Respect to the Marriage propos'd to him with Richlieu's Niece, says Fonttrailles, was, that the Cardinal was led blindly by his Ambition, and might rid himself of his Royal Highness as soon as he had Children by her, that nothing might hinder him after the King's Death from governing the State, under the Name of Minors, and the Regent his Niece. There was hardly any one who question'd whether Richlieu had too much honesty to be Guilty of such a damnable piece of Villainy, at least, *Monsieur* did not doubt it, and that Apprehension made him the more resolute in asserting the Validity of his Marriage, but he wanted Resolution, when his Brother sent to him, to forbid his sending any more Money to his Wife at Brussels, who was forc'd to demand Subsistence of the King of Spain.

Mary de Medicis order'd her Agent at Rome, the Abbot *Fabroni*, to desire the Pope, that *Mazarine* his Nuntio in France, might deliver a Letter she had written to her Son *Lewis* on the Rupture with Spain. She was forc'd to take that Method, the King having of late refus'd to receive her Letters by the usual ways, and *Mazarine* was so far engag'd in Richlieu's Interests, that she cou'd not expect he wou'd give her Son the Letter without a positive Order. *Mazarine* had discover'd his Partiality to France so much, that before the War broke out the Spanish Ambassador at Paris refus'd to Treat with him. The Pope, indeed, was well inclin'd to the House of Austria, but the cunning Italian knew well how to prevent his Masters doing any thing to the prejudice of that of Bourbon. *Mazarine* wou'd not deliver the Letter without

without *Richlieu's* consent ; he shew'd him a Copy of it, and another the Queen Mother sent to himself. The Cardinal presently cry'd, *He might send the Pacquet to his Majesty*, which he did, either to shew he was not allarm'd at any thing the Queen Mother cou'd say of him, or being afraid to keep the Letter from the King, as some Letters had been lately kept, to prevent knowing the State of his Affairs in the *Netherlands*, *Richlieu* having begun the War before he had made due Preparations for it.

A Gentleman, dispatch'd by the Prince of *Orange*, inform'd *Lewis* of these Things, which *Richlieu* and his Creature *Bouthillier* had disguis'd on several Occasions, and the latter coming to him a little while after, *You are a Liar*, says the King, *and don't deserve that I shou'd have any Trust in you. Know, I will not be led by the Nose, nor you nor any body shall deceive me any longer ; I will, for the future, have all my Dispatches open'd in my Presence.* *Bouthillier* was so frighten'd that he fell Sick, and *Richlieu* appear'd more Thoughtful and Melancholly than ever he did in his Life. The Cardinal, to prevent the King's Mother's tender and reasonable Letter having any Effect on the Mind of her Son, caus'd it to be insinuated to *Lewis*, that *Mary de Medicis* had sent one *Clauzel*, of whom mention has been made in the foregoing Pages, to the Duke of *Rohan*, who commanded the *French Army* in the *Valteline*, to corrupt that Lord, and promise him even the Sovereignty of the Country of the *Grisons* and the *Valteline*, in case he wou'd serve the King of *Spain*. *Clauzel* had formerly been in Favour with the Duke of *Rohan*, who order'd him to be seiz'd, and his Procces to be made by the Intendant of the Army.

The King was in *Champagne* when *Mazarine* sent him the Letter *Mary de Medicis* had writ, which he accompany'd with another of his own. *Lewis* answer'd that, telling him the Queen Mother's Memorial shock'd him very much ; but he did not trouble himself to Answer his Mother's. *Mazarine* took so little care to dissemble his Engagements with *Richlieu*, that he dated the Letter he wrote in An-

swer to *Mary de Medicis's* from *Ruel*, the Cardinal's House, either to insult the Queen, or to shew he did nothing but in communication with the Cardinal. *Richlieu* affected to be much at that Country Seat of his, whether he made the King come every Council Day from *St. Germain's* or *Ver-sailles*, to the great Scandal of all true Lovers of his Royal Dignity, which was subjected to the Caprice of this Imperious Minister. One Reason of the Cardinal's Sojourn so often at *Ruel* was out of fear of Assassins, the Duke of *Orleans* was disgusted, *Puy-laurens* had Friends, the Queen Mother, absent as she was, did not want them to Revenge her, if she had given them Encouragement. The Clamour of the People against his Tyranny was almost Universal, his hireling Flatterers being the only Persons that gave him a good Word, and as a French Author says, *The Remorse of his Conscience was such, that he liv'd like the Tyrant of Old, who thought he was in the same Condition as the Man that had a Sword hanging over his Head by so slender a hold as a Horse's Hair.*

In the former part of this History, we have seen with what Zeal and Vigor the Duke of *Rohan* defended the Protestant Religion in France; we have seen also how that Lord, so highly extoll'd by the *Hugonot* Writers, was not always so generous and disinterested as at other Times he appear'd, and his giving up *Clauzel*, an old Servant of his, to *Richlieu's* Revenge, was another Instance of his Complacency for those on whom his Fortune depended. *Clauzel* at his Tryal confess'd something of his being employ'd by the *Spaniards*, and *Richlieu* took hold of what he said to form a new Accusation against the King's Mother. *Clauzel* had renounc'd the Protestant Religion at *Brussels*, and for fear he shou'd retract his Confession he was Strangl'd suddenly and privately.

The Cardinal, enrag'd at the Letter *Mary de Medicis* had written against him to the Pope, got Orders sent to the French Ambassador at Rome, to demand of his Holiness that *Fabroni*, the Queen Mother's

thor's Agent, shou'd depart that City; *Urban* did not think fit to support the Queen's Interest in opposition to *Richlieu*, and *Fabroni* had private Notice of what was demanded against him, with Advice to leave *Rome*, without obliging his Holiness to order him to do so. Thus did the Minister of *Lewis* persecute his Mother in all Parts of the World, and her Son, the King, seem'd to be so entirely insensible of her Sufferings, that he hardly ever nam'd her himself, or suffer'd her to be nam'd to him.

In this Year 1635, was the famous *French Academy* founded under the Protection of Cardinal *Richlieu*, against whom were so many sharp Satyrs continually publish'd, that he was forc'd to keep a good Number of Mercenary Pens in Pay to vindicate him, and put fair Glosses on his Tyranny. Most of these Academicians had Pensions from, or ow'd their Preferments to him, and the Society was establish'd with all imaginable Pomp and Ceremony. *Barbon* of the Parliament of *Paris* said wittily, *Monseur the Cardinal's Conduct in this matter puts me in mind of what was done by an Emperor of Old; after having taken away from the Senate the Cognizance of Publick Affairs, he sent to consult them about the Sauce that shou'd be made to a huge Turbet which had been sent him from a far off.* One of the first Statutes of this Society was, That every Member shou'd promise to revere the Virtue and the Memory of the Lord Cardinal their Protector. His Virtue was such, that he kept the Lewdest of the Academicians the Abbe *Boisrobert* in his House, till he was out of meer shame forc'd to remove him. He was a most Notorious Sodomite, and 'twas a common Saying, *That the Abbot went to Church out of Fashions sake.* However, *Richlieu* made him one of the King's Almoners, and soon took him into his Family again after a short Disgrace.

The War with *Spain* being set a Foot, *Richlieu* sent daily Pecuniary Edicts to the Parliament to raise Money to carry it on; the People every where cry'd out against him, as the cause of those intolerable

terable Taxes, and at last at *Bordeaux* they took Arms, as they did also at *Agen*, *Condom*, *Leyroure*, *Moissac*, and *Perigneux*; but the Duke d' *Epernon* and his Son the Duke de la *Valette*, by their Valour and Vigilance put a stop to the encrease of those Commotions, and in a little while suppress'd them. The Parliament of *Tholouse*, ready enough to pass any Edicts against the *Reform'd*, rejected those that were sent them to raise Money. They pass'd an *Arret* forbidding the raising it. The Court immediately suspended the first and second President, and sent for the Principal Magistrates. The Parliament pass'd another *Arret*, commanding the Presidents to continue their Functions, and forbidding those that were sent for to Court to go thither, for that the King's Service requir'd their Presence at *Tholouse*. Are these *Arrets* Instances of that *Passive Obedience* which is now made a Doctrine necessary to Salvation? The Truth is, People will generally Obey pretty well as long as their Purses are not touch'd, but when Property is attack'd, whether it be by illegal Taxes, or loss of Revenue, they will do like the Parliament of *Tholouse*.

Tho' I shall not meddle with the Wars between *France* and the House of *Austria*, farther than to explain some Events which are not observ'd in other Histories, yet I must not omit certain Passages that are most for my present Purpose, to give a true Idea of this Reign and Ministry, so much boasted of in History, for the Justice of the King, and the Genius and Grandeur of the Minister.

The Imperialists threatening to invade *Lorraine*, the King went towards that Frontier in Person in *August* 1635, expecting a Powerful Army ready for him to march at the Head of it against the Enemy; instead of which his Majesty got to the Place of Rendezvous before the Train of Artillery was ready, having left *Richlieu* behind him, to whom he wrote a very angry Letter, not without Threats for his being so negligent in his Preparations: when he knew himself was to act in Person. Soon after he

he had writ it, he was sorry for it, and wrote the following Letter to beg his Pardon:

COUNSIN,

I Am in despair for my over hastiness in writing You this Billet Yesterday on the subject of my Journey, I pray you to burn it, and at the same time to forget the Contents of it. Believe that as I have no Design to trouble you in any Thing, I shall never have any other Thoughts than punctually to follow your good Counsels in all Things. I pray you once more to forget it. Write me by the Bearer that you think no more of it; that will make me easy in my Mind. Rest assur'd that I shall never be satisfy'd till I can give you further Proofs of my Affection for you, which will last as long as my Life.

Richlieu's Answer is long and cunning, he seems to shew a great Submission to the King's Will, and concern for his Health and Honour, but he shews much more the Power he had over him, tho' he was naturally of so unequal an Humour, that Richlieu us'd to say, he was infinitely more embarrass'd with it than with all the Intricate Affairs of his Ministry.

The Cardinal's Enemies that were about the King, endeavour'd to make use of his Absence, and to set his Majesty against him. Alas! They did not know that the King and he very well understood one another, tho' there seem'd to be an Alteration in Lewis's Carriage with respect to his Minister, who, upon his being taken into Favour again after the Queen Mother's last attempt for his Disgrace, had made the King promise, That he wou'd not give Ear to any thing to his Prejudice, or if he did, wou'd be sure to tell it him.

Lewis proceeding in his Expedition, finish'd his Campaigne with the taking a small Town in Lorraine, call'd St. Mihiel. Notwithstanding that the
Town

Town surrender'd upon Terms, the Governor and his Principal Officers were sent to the *Bastille*, of the Soldiers Ten were hang'd, and the rest sent to the Gallies. A Glorious Instance of the Clemency and Generosity of this Victorious Monarch.

Richlieu's Enemies did their utmost during this Siege to make their Advantage of his Absence. They form'd an Intrigue against him, and 'twas suspected that the Count *de Soisson* was in it. The King had us'd him very ill while he lay before *St. Michel*, never once calling him to Council. *Richlieu* instigated him to treat this Prince of the Blood so haughtily, to revenge his obstinate Refusal to marry *Combalet*. The Count *de Gramail* was the Head of this Conspiracy. He had been in former Cabals with the Princess of *Conti* and the Countess *du Fargis*, whose Lover he was said to have been. For at this time, the Court of *France*, notwithstanding the Impotence and Superstition of his Majesty, was so very Gallant, that there was hardly a great Lord or great Lady who had not a Love-Affair upon their Hands. *Gramail* had afterwards, in Appearance, reconcil'd himself to the Cardinal, and was made *Mareschal de Camp* during this Siege. He had given his Advice against the King's Commanding the Army in Person in this Expedition, which was sufficient to Ruin him with *Richlieu*, who had been the Author of it. He had said several violent Things against the Cardinal, and did not spare him to his Majesty when he thought *Lewis* was so out of Humour with him, that it would be agreeable. He insinuated to him, That the Cardinal was enjoying the Delights of Peace, and the sweetness of his fine Seats in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, while his Majesty under went all the Fatigues and Penals of War. He aggravated his Negligence in not making timely and due Provisions for an Army, which his Master was to Command; and declar'd always, that 'twas not Safe for the King to be so far from his Capital in a Time of such Distraction. When *Lewis* return'd, *Richlieu* met him at *Nevilli*,
and

and was receiv'd with all possible marks of Tenderness. *Lewis* among the rest did not fail to tell him all that *Cramail* had said, and the next Day the Count was Arrested by an Ensign of the Guards, and sent to the *Bastille*. What a great Comfort 'tis to a Nation to have such quick Methods of Justice, and such able Distributors of it as the Soldiery. Here is no Charge, no Crime appears, and a great Officer is, however, thrown into Prison.

The same Day the Cardinal told the Count *de Soissons* his Majesty was very angry with him, and he would do well to absent himself from Court. He did this to shew his Credit was not diminish'd. The People cry'd out against him, and *Richlieu* was glad enough, that soon after he got him recall'd as easily as he got him banish'd, and was outwardly reconcil'd to him.

The Ministry of *Richlieu* establish'd that heavy Grievance in *France*, practis'd ever since when Money is wanting to create Officers. Several Edicts made for that purpose, were carry'd to be Register'd in *Pomp*. The next Day after *Seguier* was made Chancellor on the Death of *Aligre*. *Le Jay*, the first President, who had sold himself to the Court, and abandon'd the Interest of that Assembly, and those of the Publick, to the Will of the Cardinal, spoke for them. The Advocate-General *Bignon*, had more Courage and more Honour. He remonstrated to his Majesty, who was there Present with his Minister, that the selling of Officers which had been first introduc'd in the Reign of *Francis* the First, had caus'd great Mischief to *France*, and that the continual Creation of new Offices at so dear a rate was the most prejudicial thing in the World. *Lewis* and his Minister were very much out of Humour with the Advocate-General for his excellent Discourse, which all honest Men applauded; but they durst not punish a Magistrate for doing his Duty. *Seguier* reprimanded him, and *Lewis* only said some Days after, that if the Advocate-General had come to *St. Germain* with the other Members of that Body, he 'wou'd have been ill receiv'd.

Richlieu

Richieu try'd all means to get Money, and notwithstanding his Authority met with inextricable Difficulties, he demanded Four Millions of the Clergy. The Prelates assembled at *Paris* made very warm Remonstrances, *Athilles de Harlai*, Bishop of *St. Malo*, formerly a Creature of the Cardinal's, being offended that the Cap was talk'd of for Father *Joseph* and not for him, said, that those who so pressingly represented the King's Necessities attack'd indirectly the Reputation of the Cardinal. 'Tis malicious to insinuate to the World, continues he, that so wise and clear sighted a Minister has advis'd the King to make War without having first provided the means to carry it on. The Court was very angry with the Bishop. His feign'd Apology for the Cardinal, was look'd upon as a piece of Raillery, and this Prelate resenting also that *Cohen* had the good Bishoprick of *Nismes* given him, notwithstanding the Obscurity of his Birth, took hold of an Opportunity which offer'd to shew his Resentment. *Cohen* had spoken something against the Interests of his Order, upon which *Harlai* interrupting, said, You might be ashamed to Death, the Church has taken you out of the Dust, with what Front dare you betray her. This Salley was immediately carry'd to the King, and the Cardinal telling him *Cohen* had been speaking something for the Court. *Lewis*, to be reveng'd of *Harlai*, resolv'd to tell him, that unless he had given him a good Bishoprick he wou'd not have had where withal to sublist himself. *Monsieur St. Malo*, says he, the first time he came to Court, I have taken you out of the Dust. I own it, Sir, replies *Harlai* very briskly, But Your Majesty has only done me Justice, My Father spent all his Estate in aiding the late King to mount the Throne of his Ancestors; *Lewis* had not a word more to say to him. The Truth is, *Harlai de Sancé* had been a very Faithful Servant to *Henry IV.* and had met with nothing but Ingratitude.

Private Advantage; for one of his Relations made Provost of the Merchants of *Paris*, and him Chancellor of the King's Orders. Bullion. See There

There happen'd at the same time some Disorder in the Court of Inquests, that Court being sat to examine some Edicts, and to see whether they could hinder an Augmentation of Twenty Four Counsellors and a President *au Mortier*, the First President, told them, he had receiv'd a Letter from the King, forbidding them to assemble Extraordinarily. The Court demanded that the Letter shou'd be read. The First President, who 'twas thought, had no such Letter, refus'd it, and the Court adjourn'd for a Fortnight, to the 4th of January, 1686. when the King's Order was produc'd for Thirty of the Members of the Parliament to appear before his Majesty. The Counsellor *Laisne* talk'd boldly against the First President, accus'd him of Treachery and Baseness in betraying the Interests of the Assembly, to gain the Favour of the King and his Minister. There was then even in France, a Spirit of Liberty which rose against the Tyranny of an Aspiring Priest, but wherever it appear'd, Care was taken to suppress it immediately. Accordingly several Counsellors of the Parliament, for daring to defend those Rights, to the Defence whereof they were Sworn, were sent to several Places of Confinement; as Monsieur *Barillon*, to the Castle of *Saumur*, Monsieur *Laisne* and Monsieur *Faucaut*, to the Castle of *Angers*, Monsieur *Sevin*, to *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, and Monsieur d' *Arbonne*, to *Brest*. They were confin'd there for some Months, and discharg'd afterwards on the Petition of their Brethren, who humbly submitted to the King's Orders. *Le Jay*, the First President of the Parliament, who formerly had been so rare a Patriot, that he was, himself imprison'd in the Castle of *Amboise*, had been severely reprov'd by *Laisne*, for deserting the Cause of the Society, and doing whatever the Court would have him. He now oppos'd those Counsellors who were for vindicating their Priviledges, and sacrific'd the Interests of the Assembly to his own Private Advantage; for one of his Relations was made Provost of the Merchants of *Paris*, and himself Chancellor of the King's Orders. *Bullion*, *Superin*.

perintendent of the Finances, resigning that Office to him, and taking that of *President au Mortier*, newly erected. Such is the wonderful Power of Places, when at the Disposal of such Ministers as *Richlieu*; it turns Patriots into Parasites, and Men of Honour into Slaves. Let us see what a fine Lord Chancellor this good Minister has given to *France*, what a fine State he has reduc'd the Parliament of *Paris* to, the only poor remaining Barrier of what was left of Freedom in that Kingdom. Why, the Members of the Assembly appear'd before the King upon their refusing to admit the New Counsellors that had bought their Places; You ought always to remember, says he, that if Kings have deposited Part of their Authority in your Hands, 'tis not to give you the means of rising up against them and resisting their Wills, what a Word is this, Wills to use, when the good of Mankind, their Rights and their Welfare are at Stake? Magistrates are Organs, chosen to explain to the People the Justice of the Laws, which the Sovereign Judge proposes to make, not to examine the Justice of them, but to explain it, whether there is any Justice in them or no, to take it for granted, that they are Just because as this Chancellor wou'd have us believe, the French Kings and their Ministers are Infallible, and can no more err than the Pope? Magistrates, continues he, are to teach others to submit, the King obeys the Laws of God, he acknowledges that his Almighty Hand has plac'd him on the Throne, in that he shews his Religion and his Piety; as if that Almighty God was oblig'd to him for acknowledging his Superior Power, and 'twas Piety and Religion enough for a King not to assume Divine Attributes and set up for Omnipotence. If they were Immortal too, 'twou'd be a much stronger Argument in Favour of their being Infallible than is that of the Sword, without which, many Princes wou'd be thought to run into as many Errors as other weak or wicked Men. If his Majesty orders any thing, adds he, He follows the Rules of Reason and Justice; let it be what it will, as particularly the selling Twenty Four Counsellor's Places

at once, to take away a good part of those Profits that had been fairly sold before to the present Possessors, by this he renders his Authority more firm and respectable; the Magick those Men think there is in this other Word Authority? When it is the Instrument of Law, nothing is more Sacred, and requires a most Passive Obedience. When 'tis made use of to contrary Purposes, as in this very Fact, to support an unjust Innovation, 'tis only a Sound, which without that of the Musket and the Cannon wou'd be perfectly empty in the Ears of honest and reasonable Men. By this, the Chancellor further tells us, he Stigmatises his Prudence, if he shou'd comply with his Subjects when they say any thing against what he ordains, if he shou'd suffer them to resist him with Impunity it wou'd be an extream Folly; That is, if he shou'd support them in those very Rights he had not long before sold to them, and was now bringing to Market again. The Profits of these Offices must be considerably diminish'd by the Addition of Twenty Four New Partners, but it is the King's Will, it renders his Authority more firm, and to resist him will not go off without Punishment; Seguier goes on, It does not belong to you to argue upon what the King Commands, Magistrates are instituted for nothing but to make the Orders of the Sovereign to be receiv'd with Submission; if you forget what you are, the King will remember that he is Master, obey first, and admit those the King has been pleas'd to Create Magistrates by his last Edicts, after that, his Majesty will hear your Remonstrances in Favour of your Brethren in Exile, and in Prison. La Ville aux-Clerts, Secretary of State, carry'd a few days after an Order from the King to the Parliament, forbidding the Magistrates to assemble extraordinarily. This Violence and the Chancellor's Threats, so provok'd them that they put a stop to their sitting, and the Course of Justice was suspended. Their Resolution wou'd have been much more commendable, had it been exerted against those Exorbitant Taxes that were daily confirm'd by them in verifying the King's Pecuniary Edicts. But on these Occasions they

said very little or nothing: This Courage of theirs was not entirely free from a Mercenary Blemish, their Interests being concern'd in the admission of the New Counsellors. The Clamours the Parliament made began to raise a Ferment in the Minds of the People, who generally were on their Side, looking upon them as the Guardians of Justice. The Cardinal got the Prince of *Conde* to go to the Assembly, and insinuate that if they wou'd admit some of the New Created Magistrates, the King wou'd not insist upon their admitting of the rest. *Conde* endeavour'd to amuse them with such Hopes, and told them 'twas the King's Command that they wou'd admit *Colombet*. He was a good Civilian, and had written several Books in that Science which were well esteem'd. The Court thought that the Parliament wou'd make no Scruple of admitting a Man who had Taught many of them the first Elements of the Civil Law, but the Magistrates saw thro' the Design of their presenting *Colombet* as a Man they did not dare to Resist or Examine. However, they put certain Questions to him, which either relating more to Practice than Theory, or he being put out of Countenance by the Imperious way of asking them by his Old Scholars, return'd very indifferent Answers to them. Some Days after *Bullion* was also admitted President *au Mortier* on the Foot of the New Creation. The Assembly durst not oppose his Admission, knowing him to be the Cardinal's Confident and Creature; *Richlieu* not minding the Parliaments Opposition, continu'd to erect New Offices, which, however, the People were not overfond of Purchasing. The Prince of *Conde* seem'd to be disgusted, that the word he had given the Parliament that there shou'd be no more made was no better kept, but the Cardinal knew how to appease him. A Sum of Money was given him, and instead of supporting that Assembly in the Defence of their Rights, he accepted of a Commission to get several other New Edicts as grievous

vous to the People récié'd in *Provence*, where the People had been in Arms against them, and the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, more resolute than the rest, forbad the execution of them.

As *Richlieu's* History makes so considerable a Part of that of *Lewis XIII.* we must not omit taking Notice of those Events which have particular relation to his Family, which was now look'd upon to be of as much Importance as those relating to the Royal House of *France*. The *Mareschal de Breze* liv'd in perpetual Misunderstanding with *Combalet*, both of them had their Creatures and Partisans. *Servien*, Secretary of State, sided with the *Mareschal*, but means were found to set the Cardinal against both of them, and *Combalet's* Party prevail'd. *Servien* had had a Quarrel with *Bullion*, and *Chavigni*, Son of *Bouillier*, on occasion of the Army's being ill supply'd with Money, and the Cardinal de la *Valette* joyn'd with the latter against him, insomuch, that he was order'd to lay down his Place and retire to *Saumur*. *Richlieu*, when he went to take his leave of him, told him he might take his Choice of *Saumur* or *Nantes*; a most Happy Constitution. This *Servien* is banish'd *Paris* at the Pleasure of the Minister, no matter for Tryal or Evidence, Fault or no Fault, he is order'd to retire. He must not live where he will, nor do what he will. When a Favourite in *France* does not like your Company you must pack up and be gone. *Des Noiers* was made Secretary in his room. The *Mareschal de Breze*, a very Passionate Man, reproach'd *Bullion* also that his Negligence was the Cause of the ill Success of the King's Arms in the *Low Countries*, that he had not supply'd the Army with Money to Purchase Provisions, of which they were in great want. *Bullion*, on the contrary, pretended that Money enough had been sent but that it was ill husbanded. *Breze* was not long after order'd to his Government of *Saumur*. *Servien*, some time before his Disgrace, had threatened to Cane *Boisrobert* in *Richlieu's* Anti-Chamber;

for complaining of his Neglect in not passing a Warrant for a Sum of Money that had been given him, and the Cardinal cou'd not bear that such Ains shou'd be assum'd in his House towards any of his Creatures.

The Affair of the Duke of Orleans's Marriage remain'd still in the same Posture. *Richlieu* was indefatigable in his Endeavours to get it declar'd Null by the Pope, and *Gaston* to consent to the Dissolution, but the Pope evaded giving any satisfactory Answer to *Fenouillet*, Bishop of *Montpellier*, sent to *Rome* to sollicite the Matter, and *Gaston* cou'd not be prevail'd upon to agree to any thing more than to Sign a Warrant, importing, that he submitted it to the Decision of the Clergy voting in a Synod of *Gallican* Bishops, the Pope's Legates preciding in the Assembly; he added, *Nevertheless, whatever Judgment is given in Rome or in France, I will never have any other Wife than the Princess Margaret, to whom I lawfully engag'd my self.* *Le Coigneux*, who was restor'd to some Degree of Favour at Court, undertook to prevail on *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* to consent to the Dissolution of the Match, in hopes of the Restitution of his Dominions, and *Charles* going soon after to the *Netherlands*, 'twas thought he went thither to perswade his Sister to do the same, but it all came to nothing. *Richlieu* would even have contented Duke *Charles* in many things, if he cou'd have remov'd that insurmountable Obstacle to *Combalet's* Marriage with the Duke of *Orleans*.

While these things were in Transaction, a New Revolution happen'd in *Gaston's* Court, the Abbot *de la Riviere*, his Confident, quarrell'd with *Chavigni* and was sent to the *Bastille*, several other of his Servants were turn'd off, and the Duke, to be reveng'd for these Acts of Violence, did the same by the Abbot *Delbene*, one of *Richlieu's* Spies. *Chavigni* endeavouring to justify himself one Day that he had no Share in the Orders the King had given, with Reference to his Brother's Domesticks;

Good

Good God, says Gaston! I don't complain of you nor of Monsieur the Cardinal, you are our Masters; Richlieu had insinuated to Lewis that his Brother was meditating new Troubles, and had caus'd it to be so reported about Paris, which he did to procure him to Banish the Duke of Orleans's most Faithful Servants as his Evil Counsellors.

The carrying every Point thus in France, did not ease Richlieu of his Chagrin at the Opposition he met with at Rome, where the Pope seem'd to take Pleasure in vexing him, not only in the Affair of the Duke of Orleans's Marriage, but others. Urban sent a Brief to the Cardinal de la Valette, who commanded the French Army which acted in Conjunction with the Swedes under Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar, to quit that Command, it not being decent for a Member of the Sacred College, as the Brief had it, to be associated with the General of an Heretick Army. Upon which Richlieu wrote his Friend the following Letter of the 10th of January 1636.

I Have not been wanting to do what I thought necessary for the King's Service and your Satisfaction on the Subject of the Brief the Pope has sent you, we have made great Complaints of it to the Nuntio. Monsieur the Cardinal of Lyons, and Monsieur the Ambassador, have spoken to the Pope and to his Nephew, making use of all the Reasons and Examples that were to be us'd on such an Occasion. I just now spoke to Monsieur Mazarine about it, he tells me the Answer the Nuntios have receiv'd to what they wrote to Rome on the Part of the King is, that the Pope cou'd do no less, but that he wou'd do no more, whatever concerns you will always touch me more sensibly than yourself.

The Cardinal of Lyons, Richlieu's Elder Brother, receiv'd also a Morrification. That Prelate, taken

Out of the Order of *Chartreux*, thought he shou'd not be so deform'd as he was by Nature, and that it wou'd take off a great deal of his Ugliness and rude Air, which were extremely shocking to the Ladies, if he let his Hair grow as long as the other Cardinals. Accordingly he did so, and *Urban* order'd him to Shave after the manner of his Brotherhood. The Pope gave another Instance of his ill Will to *Lewis's* Minister, or rather Governor. *Lewis*, at the instigation of *Richlieu*, had nam'd the Capuchine Father *Joseph* to be a Cardinal at the next Promotion, and Father *Joseph* was so earnest to have that Nomination succeed, that *Richlieu*, who knew his insinuating and ambitious Temper, privately obstructed it, being allarm'd at the pressing Instances the Capuchine made for the Cap, which he apprehended was done with a Design to supplant him. Father *Joseph* mistrusted that the Cardinal dealt doubly with him, and intended to put *Mazarine* in his Place. *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, in a Letter which he wrote the Mareschal d' *Etreets*, then Ambassador at *Rome*, has a Particularity which shews us admirably well what is the sincerity of Courts and Ministers of State. For after a long Letter of *Lewis's* to the Pope, wherein the Promotion of Father *Joseph* is press'd with the utmost earnestness, *Chavigni* gives the Mareschal Instruction to pretend that he solicited the Affair more than he really did or was desir'd to do. The Passage in the King's Letter is very strong in favour of the Capuchine's Promotion. *If after all, says Lewis, his Holiness continues to make Difficulties in the matter, you must tell him I am absolutely determin'd not to change my Nomination on that Account. That I, and not He, are to name Persons; that he ought to accept those whose Manners are approv'd of by all the World, and whose Zeal and Sentiments for the Catholick, Apostolical and Roman Religion are what they ought to be. Lewis went so far, as to order d' Etreets to give out that he wou'd leave Rome, if Father Joseph was not promoted to the Purple, and yet did Chavigni write him as follows: Be sure to*
say

say in your Dispatches that you press'd the Promotion, and hope in a little while to obtain it. 'Tis necessary to content Father Joseph, to prevent his taking Umbrage, and that he might not think you act with Negligence in what concerns him.

Not long after there happen'd an Event at Paris, which was all the Talk of Court and City, the different Reception and Entertainment given to Two Princes, Friends to France, who came to visit the King, and negotiate their Affairs with that Court, I mean the Duke of Parma and Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar. Farnese, Duke of Parma, was threaten'd with an Invasion by the Spaniards, and Bernard's Army was almost destroy'd by Desertion and Skirmishes. Farnese was receiv'd with all possible Honours, tho' the great Lords were shock'd at his Haughtiness, which they call'd Arrogance. He had not given the Duke de Merceur the Hand in his Appartment, nor waited on the Duke de la Palette out of his Chamber. All the Dukes and Peers cry'd out against it, and protested they wou'd not Visit the Duke of Parma unless he gave them the Hand in his own Appartment. The King's Counsel took cognizance of the Difference, and at the instigation of Richlieu, these Gentlemen lost their Cause. The Cardinal was set upon keeping Farnese steady in the French Interest, hoping by his means to embarrass the King of Spain's Affairs in Italy. For this Reason he supported the Pretensions of a Prince made so by the Scandalous Ambition of a Pope, to the Prejudice of the best Families in France. Notwithstanding that Farnese's Great Grandfather was only a Pope's Bastard, and had been made a Prince against the Rules of Religion and Decency; yet see the Insulence of Richlieu to ingratiate himself with the Duke of Parma. 'Tis a shame, says he, that Men who have sprung up like Mushrooms, shou'd demand Precedence even in the King's Pallace of a Sovereign Prince descended of an Ancient and Illustrious House. Can any of 'em pretend that Monsieur the Chancellor gives them the Hand at his House? Nevertheless Monsieur the Chan-

cellor knows better Things than to carry his Pretensions so far as the Dukes and Peers. If I was not a Cardinal I shou'd make no scruple of giving Place to the Duke of Parma at his own Apartment; tho' the King has honour'd me with the Dignity of Duke and Peer. His Majesty ought on this Occasion, to oblige a Prince ally'd to France, and humble those that wou'd so mal-a-propos equal themselves to Sovereigns. This Ancient and Illustrious House was hardly heard of before Pope Paul the 11ths Time. Suppose that Farnese was Superior to Epernon and Luines, Men sprung up like Mushrooms, was his Family to be compar'd to the Houses of Lorraine, Savoy, Longueville, Vendome, and Angouleme? The Eldest and Youngest of those great Families were order'd to give Place every where to the Duke of Parma, as well as the Dukes and Peers; but only the Duke de Mereaur, Eldest Son to the Duke de Vendome, the Count de Harcourt, Brother to the Duke d'Elbeuf of the House of Lorraine, and the Count de Alex, Son to the Duke d'Angouleme, submitted to the Decision of the King's Council. The Duke of Orleans and that Aspiring Priest, Richlieu, had Ceremonials agreed upon particularly for them. The Cardinal entertain'd Farnese at his House with a Comedy, a Ball and a Supper, which cost him a Million. Abundance of fine Things were promis'd him, as that he shou'd have the Command of the Confederate Army in Italy in the absence of the Duke of Savoy, and have sufficient Forces to defend his Territories; but the Honours that were paid him at his coming and going, and during his Abode at Paris, together with a Present of 100000 Crowns, were all that he got by his Journey to France.

This Event is a little too particular for so general a History, but it is necessary to be mention'd to introduce one that is as great an Anecdote as any we have met with, and has Relation to Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar, who came to Paris, and was there at the same Time with Farnese. Whether it was that Richlieu did not like Bernard's Errand or the Man, the German was not treated so honourably

honourably as the *Italian*, who descended of a Princely House, that gave an Emperor to *Germany*. Notwithstanding Duke *Bernard's* Army was in a desperate Condition, yet he had several strong Places in his Possession, and cou'd easily recruit it with Money. His Alliance was still courted by *Richlieu*, who not only hop'd to get him to turn Catholic, and by his means to procure for himself the Electorate of *Treves*, the Bishoprick of *Spire*, and perhaps his Chimerical Kingdom of *Austrasia*, a Map of which he had order'd to be drawn out, but also to marry his Neice *Combalet*, and to establish her in the *Landgravate* of *Alsace*. The Cardinal resolving to make his Market of her, and finding so many obstacles in the Project of marrying her to the King's Brother, thought he cou'd not do better than to settle her in that New Principality, and by her means secure *Bernard* in his Interests. But the Marriage being propos'd to the Duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, the German did not stand hesitating about it, as the Duke of *Orleans* sometimes did, but said plainly, *Madam de Combalet* is Handsome enough to make a Mistress, but Monsieur the Cardinal does not know me, if he thinks me capable of consenting to so unequal an Alliance. *Bernard* told this Repartee of his to *Hervart*, his Confident, afterwards Comptroller-General of the Finances under *Mazarine's* Ministry. *Hervart* was very much concern'd at his Frankness, and said to him, These Sentiments, my Lord, are worthy of a Prince of your *August House*, but I wou'd to God you had not declar'd them so openly. The Cardinal will surely hear of it, you know he cannot bare Contempt, and to what excess his revengeful Humour is apt to carry him. Duke *Bernard* did not seem to be very sorry at what he had said, and the Cardinal certainly made that Difference between his Treatment and that of the Duke of *Parma*, on purpose to mortify him. He was extreemly disgusted at it; they only lodg'd him in the *Arsenal*, whereas *Farnese* was lodg'd in the Queen Mother's Apartment. The Officers that waited on him were of

a lower Degree than those who waited on Parma. In the first Audience he had of the King, Lewis put on his Hat, and Bernard uncover'd; the German staid a while for the Sign to put on his Hat, which not being given as he expected, he did it of himself, Lewis chang'd Colour, presently pull'd off his Hat to oblige Bernard to do the same, broke off the Conversation, and went into his Closet: Bertire, who perform'd the Office of Master of the Ceremonies, was call'd, and the King demanded why he did not do as he had been order'd, and tell the Duke of Saxe-Weymar that he had no Right to be cover'd in his Majesty's Presence. Bertire reply'd, *I did exactly what I was commanded; if Monsieur the Duke of Weymar had no regard to the Notice I gave him, 'twas because he would not have it.* Lewis, recollected himself, return'd into the Chamber of Audience, and conducted Bernard into the Queen's Appartment, the Duke stood bare, the King with his Hat on, but Bernard gave People to understand, 'twas a Compliment paid to the Sex and not the Dignity. The Duke of Parma sent one of his Gentlemen to Compliment him in his Name; however, Bernard cou'd not forbear crying out against him. *Monsieur the Duke of Parma is very Proud of the Extraordinary Honours that are paid him here, shou'd he have forgotten that my Ancestors wore the Imperial Crown, when his were but plain Gentlemen?* This was told Farnese, who reply'd, *I confess the Empire has been in the House of Saxony, but with Monsieur Duke Bernard's leave, my Ancestors were at the same time Knights and Counts. Is it possible that he shou'd not know that Counts of Italy were formerly a sort of Sovereigns? But not to stand upon that, I must say that when we obtain'd the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia, the Branch of Saxe-Weymar lost their Territories with the Electoral Dignity for Rebelling against Charles the Vth; the Ancestors of Duke Bernard were reduc'd to the Condition of Private Men; their Rank and Consideration in Germany were gone, when mine acquir'd a fair Sovereignty in Italy.*

The Knights and Counts in the House of *Farnese* are not easily to be met with till the Pope's Bastard assum'd that fair Sovereignty, and *Weymar* might, if he pleas'd, have taken upon himself the Title of Duke of *Franconia*, which *Gustavus Adolphus* promis'd to give him. *Lewis* order'd him to be told, that if he did it, his Majesty wou'd make no Scruple of letting him be cover'd in his Presence, for that Ceremony belong'd to the Dignity and not to the Birth. Tho' the Duke of *Weymar* had not those Honours paid him by the King as *Farnese* had, all the great Lords seem'd to outvie one another in their Civilities to him, which they did not only out of Respect to his Superior Merit, but to vex the Duke of *Parma*. At one of the Conferences which *Bernard* had with the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, Father *Joseph*, and other Ministers about the Affairs of *Germany*, the Duke rally'd the Capuchine very handsomely for meddling with Matters which did not belong to him. The Monk taking up a Map, pointed to several Towns which he said might be taken one after another, and how the *Germans* might be driven out of the Countries they conquer'd since the Battle of *Norlingen*. All this is very well, says Duke *Bernard*, but Monsieur *Joseph's* Towns are not taken with a Finger's End. The Company laugh'd, and the Capuchine was sadly out of Countenance. Duke *Bernard* had 600000 Florins paid him, with which, and a great many fair Promises, he departed for *Germany*.

About this time, *Mazarine* was recall'd from his Nunciature in *France*, tho' *Lewis* and his Minister did what they could to have him continu'd there, but it was represented to the Pope, " That his Nuntio Extraordinary demean'd himself shamefully, that he was Cardinal *Richlieu's* Valet, that his Holiness's good Graces were not, in his Opinion, so ready a way to make his Fortune, as the Favour and Protection of the most Christian King's Minister. He minded the Affairs of *France* and *Savoy* more than those of the Holy

"ly See. 'Twas he who manag'd the Duke of Savoy
 "to enter into a League with the King of France;
 "and if he could have done it, he wou'd have made
 "the Duke of *Modena* have joynd in it also;
 "what has he done for the House of *Lorraine*, tho'
 "he was sent on purpose to sollicite that Affair.
 "He is look'd upon at *Ruel* and at *Paris* not as
 "his Holiness's Minister, but as the Minister and
 "most assiduons Courtier of Cardinal *Richlieu*,"
Mazarine was so far from concealing his Devotion
 to *Richlieu*, that he accepted of an Appart-
 ment at *Ruel*, the Cardinal's House, and *Lewis*
 finding his Instances to the Pope to hinder the
Italian's being recall'd ineffectual, said, His Ho-
 linefs cou'd not have disoblig'd him more than in
 recalling a Minister who was so much to his liking, at
 the Solicitation of the *Spaniards*. *Richlieu* did
 not stick to tell the Pope in a Letter, that his re-
 calling *Mazarine* shew'd very plainly the *Spaniards*
 might obtain what they wou'd of him to the Preju-
 dice of *France*.

Urban did not mind the Cardinal's Remonstrances,
 on the contrary he continu'd to give him new Cause of
 Mortification and Chagrin. *Richlieu*, whose Vanity
 was as Boundless as his Ambition or Cruelty, wou'd
 needs be the greatest Man in *France* in all Things,
 in Power, in Learning and in Religion. To encrease
 his Character as a Devotee, and perhaps with some
 such View as our Famous Cardinal *Woolsey* had in
 getting several good Monasteries into his Hand, be-
 sides the Abbies he already possess'd, he got himself
 to be chosen *Abbot de Clugni, de Cisteraux & de*
Premontre, Three Monasteries, chief of their Or-
 ders in *France*, the Abbots of which are as Superiors
 General of a great Number of Abbeys and Priories
 in that Kingdom and in other Parts of *Europe*. He also
 order'd it to be given out that he intended to reform
 those great Abbies, and all depending upon them, un-
 der pretence of restoring the antient Splendor of the
Gallican Church but in Truth, to enlarge his Autho-
 rity in Ecclesiastical Matters, as also to oblige the
 Pope by it to declare him Legate of the *Roman See*, to

be a kind of Deputy to him, as was Cardinal *de Amboise* in the Reign of *Lewis XII.* The Pope appriz'd of *Richlieu's* Ambitious Projects, refus'd to confirm his Bulls for the Three great Abbies before mention'd. To be reveng'd of his Holiness, *Richlieu* perswaded his Master to recal the Count *de Noailles*, and leave only the *Marschal d' Etrees* at *Rome*. *Urban* was disgusted at that *Marschal's* haughty Behaviour, he had been Ambassador there under the Pontificate of *Paul V.* to whom he carry'd himself so proudly and so rudely, that it is said the Pope fell in so Violent a Fit of Choller against him as to throw himself into the Apoplexy, of which he dy'd. This very Humour of *d' Etrees* was the very Merit that recommended him to *Richlieu* to be left Sole Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, but *Urban* let him remain with that Character a considerable time without giving him Audience or receiving him with the Distinction due to his Embassy. This occasion'd a long Letter from *Richlieu* to the Pope, complaining of his Partiality to the *Spaniards*, as well in the Affair of the Ambassador of *France* as in the recalling of *Mazarine*. *Urban* wou'd not abate of his Rigor towards the *Marschal*, and to prevent the Mischief that might attend it he sent for *Mazarine* from *Avignon*, where he was Vice-legate to *Rome*, knowing that the Court of *France* wou'd be well pleas'd to have him about him, as depending on his supporting their Interests. *Mazarine*, for Form sake only, wrote to *Richlieu* to recal Monsieur *d' Etrees* tho' he had himself advis'd the sending him to *Rome*, where he was as troublesome as he had been in a former Pontificate.

The Hopes of distress'd People when they are under the Tyranny of Cruel and Powerful Ministers, are in the Disunion that Success will necessarily create among them. Their Interests may be at first the same, while their Power is unsettled, and they have Competitors in the Ministry, but when by their Authority or the Authority of their Masters, they have suppress'd all opposite Parties and have no more their common Antagonists to contend with, they begin

begin to think each of his own Advantage, and to rise higher on the Ruins of one another, as they rose together before on the Ruins of their Rivals. The Capuchine *Joseph* thought himself as able and deserving as his Benefactor *Richlieu*, that the Cardinal had been Prime long enough, and it was now his Time and Turn. The King had a kindness for *Madamoiselle de La Fayette*, and the French will have it, 'twas only a kindness for one of his Queen's Maids of Honour. She was related to Father *Joseph*, and Neice to the Bishop of *Limoges*, who in Conjunction with the good Father perswaded her to insinuate to the King that it was a Sin in him to detain *Lorraine* from the Lawful Prince, and that the People were impoverish'd by the Load of Taxes laid on them to continue the War. *Richlieu* had some Intelligence of what *Madamoiselle's* Insinuations were. Those that put her upon it were expell'd the Court. If the Cardinal did not find out the Capuchine in his Business, he at least discover'd that the good Father was watching an Opportunity to trip up his Heels; for he had several times decry'd his Measures to the King. *Richlieu* exclaim'd bitterly against the Father's Ingratitude and Infidelity, and *Joseph* seem'd not to be much concern'd at his Resentment, depending on the Support of the She Favourite, and apprehending that *Richlieu* dealt doubly with him in the Matter of the Cardinal's Cap.

There happen'd an Event in the beginning of this War, between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, which shews us what Novices the French were then in Navigation and Maritime Expeditions, and what Fools those Princes have been that have helpt to instruct and assist them in it. The *Spaniards*, who were at that time a Match for the French at Sea, had taken the Islands of *St. Margaret* and *St. Honorat* on the Coasts of *Provence*, which the Cardinal resolv'd to recover, and also to favour some Commotions that were in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by equipping a good Fleet. The Count *de Harcourt* was to Command it, and the Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux* to accompany him, as was also the Bishop of *Nantz*, for *Richlieu*,

who

who was himself a Priest, made no Scruple of giving Military Employments, both by Sea and Land, to Men of that Order.

Some Instances of these fighting Bishops have been met with in other Countries besides *France*, but these Prelates have been every where such as seem'd to have been forc'd upon the Church, and to live in it as if it was by Constraint, having the Learning, and living after the manner rather of a Camp than of a Cathedral. Men of Sense laugh'd at the Cardinal's Injudicious Favour to these Bishops, in giving them Commands Aboard Men of War, and exclaim'd also against his putting the Count *de Harcourt* over the Fleet, that Count having never yet serv'd at Sea. This Fleet consisted of about Forty Men of War, and was the greatest *France* ever put to Sea, it pass'd the *Streights*, and approach'd the Coasts of *Naples*, where, by that time the Fleet arriv'd, all things were quiet, and the Count *de Harcourt* and his two Bishops had nothing to do but to Sail along a fine Country. The next thing that was enjoyn'd them was to recover the Islands of *St. Margaret* and *St. Honorat*, which was hinder'd by a Division between the Count *de Harcourt* and the Mareschal *de Vitri*, Governor of *Provence*. The latter resented the Count's having a Commission given him, which he thought belong'd to him as Governor of a Province, which those Two Islands made a part of, besides he was not very fond of an Expedition, which was like to deprive him of the Profit he made by the Troops kept on Foot, to defend the Coasts against the Descents of the *Spaniards* from those Isles. He therefore refus'd to obey the Count *de Harcourt* of the House of *Lorraine*, when the attacking the Two Islands was debated in the Council of War. This he did, notwithstanding the King had sent him positive Orders to serve under the Count, the Mareschal was more passively obedient when he was to cut the Throat of the Mareschal *de Ancre*. He now refuses to obey the King's Command. Shou'd a Governor of a Province dare to do so in the Reign of the Son of *Lewis the Just*, what wou'd become of him? *Vitri* left his

Sol.

Soldiers with *Harcourt*, but wou'd not accompany him in his Expedition. A Month was spent by the Count and his Two Prelates in useless Consultations, after which Provisions fell short, and the Fault was laid to the Door of the Bishop of *Nantes*, whose Charge it was in Particular to provide all Necessaries. People made themselves merry with the Negligence of this Episcopal Commissary, *Why shou'd he be blam'd*, said they, *Is a Bishop oblig'd to know any thing besides his Profession?* He of *Nantes* was, it seems, very Ignorant; the Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux* who had built an imaginary Fortune on the Success of this Fleet, was enrag'd to find they were all disappointed; he cry'd out against the want of Provisions and Money, and the Misunderstandings between *Vitri* and *Harcourt*.

The Prelate reproach'd the Mareschal in a Council, at which the First President of the Parliament of *Provence* assisted on this Account. *Vitri* Can'd the Arch-Bishop, giving him Twenty Blows, but he being out of his Diocess, he cou'd not fulminate as he had done against the Duke d' *Epernon*. The Bishop's Disgrace brought that Story into Remembrance, and every Body laugh'd at him for assuming a Station he was so unequal to. *Chavigni* wrote to the Cardinal de la *Valette*, that the Mareschal de *Vitri* had reveng'd the Duke d' *Epernon*. *I believe*, says he, *Monsieur de Bordeaux endeavours to be Can'd wherever he comes, that he may fill the whole Kingdom with excommunicated People*. While the General Officers were Quarreling thus a Shoar, the *Spanish* Gallies landed Three Thousand Men in the Two Islands, and the *French* Fleet sail'd fairly back again, having only shewn its self in the *Mediterranean*. The Two Bishops that were aboard it, being sufficiently rally'd, as was the Cardinal de *Richlieu*, for employing them in a Business they were so unfit for. This dishonourable Expedition, and the Prince of *Conde's* raising the Siege of *Dole*, in the *French* County, very much afflicted *Lewis*, who if he had been his own Master, wou'd certainly have shewn his Resentment

sentment in another manner to the Cardinal, for putting both of those Enterprizes into such Hands. The Siege of *Dole* being left to *Conde*, and a Cousin of *Richlieu's*, *Monsieur de Meilleraie*; the former being a Man who lov'd Money better than Glory, the latter a rash fiery Bravo. The *Germans* having found means after a five or six Months Siege, to advance with a good Army to the relief of the Place, *Richlieu* was terribly embarrass'd how to bring the Prince and his Cousin off with Honour, after he had promis'd the King from time to time that the Town shou'd be in their Hands in a few Days. The Prince of *Conde* hearing of the Approach of the *Germans*, summon'd the Place again to Surrender, but they dispis'd his Impotence and Presumption, sending him a Summons in form to raise the Siege. A Trumpeter came to him from the Town to declare, that if he wou'd retire, they wou'd give him Six Days Time, *But if his Highness* rejected that Offer, it wou'd be the worse for him. *Conde* reply'd in a Fury, *Tell the Inhabitants of Dole, I will not accept of their Surrendring by Composition, unless they beg it of me with Halberts about their Necks.* The Besieg'd insulted him yet farther, they caus'd Letters to be thrown into the Camp of the Besiegers, threatening to keep him as long before the Town as he lay in his Mother's Belly, which was said to be a Eleven Months. At last *Lewis* sent positive Orders to the Prince to raise the Siege, if a certain Mine on which 'twas given out the Success of it depended, did not take Effect. The Mine was sprung to no purpose, and his Highness, the Prince of *Conde* and *Richlieu's* Cousin *Meilleraie*, march'd off with the remains of a fine Army, their Rear expos'd to the Attack of the *Germans*, who were not very forward to follow them, the Town being reduc'd to the last Extremity. These Disgraces were follow'd by the loss of *Capelle*, and the ravageing the Provinces of *Picardy*, *Champagne*, and even the Isle of *France* by the *Germans* and *Spaniards*; *Catelet* follow'd the Fate of *Capelle*. The *Parisians* were in a dreadful Fright.

Every one cry'd out against the Cardinal for entering so rashly into the War, and leaving the Frontiers so weak and expos'd. *Richlieu*, to throw as much of the Odium as he cou'd off himself, caus'd the *Marquis du Bes*, Governor of *Capelle*, and the *Baron de S'Leger*, Governor of *Catalet*, to be prosecuted for delivering up those Places. The Two Governors having notice of the Orders he had given, made their Escape, for tho' they really cou'd not have defended the Towns longer than they did, they knew the Cardinal wou'd have made no Scruple of taking off their Heads right or wrong, to save his own Reputation. The Truth is, the Soldiers of those Two Garrisons had been heard to say, they wou'd not venture their Lives in a Quarrel in which the King was not concern'd, but only the Prime Minister's Authority was in Question. The *Germans* and *Spaniards* past the *Somme*, took *Roie* and *Corbie*, the latter ill defended by *Soyecourt*, Brother-in-Law to the Count d' *Avaux*, a Confident of *Richlieu's* and Father *Joseph's*. Such Ministers as *Richlieu* will never consider a Man's Ability, Courage and Merit in advancing him to a Civil or Military Post, but his Disposition to be a Tool to sacrifice Honour and Conscience to their Interest, and whenever a Country is attack'd that has their Tools for its Defenders, it may expect the same Defence as *France* had now her Enemies are within a few Leagues of her Capital. The *Parisians* began to shut up their Shops, and it was said of *Richlieu*, if he had not thrown down the Walls of *Paris* to make Gardens and build Monasteries, they had not needed to have been in such fear of a Siege; but the ill Conduct of the *Germans* sav'd them from the Ruin which the Cardinal's rashness had brought them so near to.

This great Politician, whose Character cannot be touch'd but to his Advantage, if an Historian wou'd be read, was however, so abandon'd to his Passion, that he did not give himself Time to think what was to be done, besides breaking with the House of *Austria*, before he broke with them. He artfully drew

drew several Princes into a Confederacy with France against them, but had not made due Preparations to support it. He was himself in such a Consternation after the loss of *Corbie*, that at first he was for removing with the Court to *Orleans* or *Blois*, but the Fright being a little over, he descended from his haughty obstinate Manner, to an obliging complying one. He promis'd that the People shou'd be eas'd in their Taxes, they were exhorted to take Arms, the King was advis'd to give the Command of the Armies to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princes of the Blood. Several great Lords who had been forbidden the Court, as the Duke d' *Angouleme*, the Count de la *Rochefaucault*, and the Marquis de *Valencay*, were recall'd. The Minister did that out of Fear, which he ought to have done out of Justice. The Terror People were in, was such, that they readily offer'd their Money and their Persons to defend their Country.

The Parliament of <i>Paris</i> offer'd to raise	
and to maintain.	2600 Foot.
The Chamber of Accounts.	700
The Court of <i>Aids</i> .	400
The King's Secretaries,	400
The Chancellor, the Two Superintendants	
of the Finances and their Clerks.	500 Horse.
The City of <i>Paris</i> .	6500 Foot.
The Neighb'ring Towns.	4500
The Towns between <i>Paris</i> and	
<i>Blois</i> .	12500
The <i>Celestines</i> and <i>Chartreux</i> .	400
The University of <i>Paris</i> .	400

The next Day after the Parliament had made this Offer, they met to consider how to raise the Money and propos'd to depute Twelve Counsellors to the *Hotel de Ville*, to take care for the Guard of the City, and to have an Eye on the due Application

of the Money granted to be rais'd for this Service. The President *Le Jay* oppos'd this, for what signifies the giving Money for the Publick Service, if the Ministers have not the sole Disposition of it. The *Richlieus* of all Times do not care whether there be Money given or not, unless it passes thro' their Hands or the Hands of their Creatures. *Le Jay* said the Assembly were not met to that Purpose, but the President *de Mesmes* made a long Speech to shew the necessity of their deliberating upon it, and in the Speech he mention'd the monopolizing of Places by *Richlieu* and his Relations, a Grievance so very common, that I have often wonder'd cunning Ministers will not rather make use of other Mens Names to enrich their Families than fill the Court Lists with those of their own. He also complain'd that no Care was taken in the Management of the Finances; and that immense Sums of Money and a prodigious quantity of Ammunition and Artillery had been sent to *Havre de Grace* where the Cardinal was Master. *Mesmes* reproach'd *Le Jay* with sacrificing the Publick Welfare to his Private Interest. To give a Check to this Impertinent Zeal for the good of their Country, the King sent for the Presidents *au Mortier* a President and Dean of each Chamber of Inquest to the *Louvre*, and bad them Meddle with their own Business, adding, I know how to govern my Kingdom, If you have any Advice to give me I will readily hear you; you may also address your self to Monsieur the Cardinal, he will receive you very well, but I forbid you to talk in a Tumultuous Seditious manner of State Affairs in your Assembly, if any thing has been sent to *Havre de Grace* it was by my Order. Then *Richlieu* took up the Discourse, saying, If the King had not sufficiently justify'd him, he wou'd give so good an Account of his Actions that no reasonable Man shou'd have a Word to object to them. The Magistrates being in great Apprehensions of Confinement, as had been lately the

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Custom on such Occasions, made a most Submissive Answer, and withdrew trembling, the President *de Mesmes* cringing and trembling as well as the rest.

In Times of Peril, few People suffer for speaking against those that have brought them into it, the Losers have always leave to speak, and we seldom meet with Threats against the Seditious, a Term that in some Countries is to be understood of those that speak Truth out of Season. Accordingly the Tongues of the *French* were loud and bold enough against the Prime Minister. The Invaders were carrying Fire and Sword thro' several of their best Provinces, and 'tis a wonder they were satisfy'd with using their Tongues only. The Cardinal not daring to throw the Seditious into Dungeons, as he was wont to do, got his Mercenaries to write Panegyrics for him, as fast as his Opponents publish'd Libells, as they were call'd, and as all Histories will ever be call'd that are not to the Gout of the Minister. These Mercenaries who thought the more Flaming their Incense was, and the stronger it smelt, the richer it wou'd be thought and the Price be the greater, always over did it, and never more than now that their Patron was surrounded by an Army of Enemies, not *French* Men, but Foreigners, triumphing over the Arms of *France*. A Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, in one of his Nauseous Encomiums, call'd *Richlieu a Divinity to whom they ought to Sacrifice*. Another more wicked said, he shou'd not be call'd *Richlieu* but *Rich Dieu*, because nothing but a God cou'd give the King such Wise Counsel. Pope *Urban* who was as much given to Judicial Astrology as any Body in *France*, not excepting the Cardinal himself, did not Compliment him so when he sent him Word that a certain Astrologer, a Famous Artist, had cast his Nativity, and found he had but a Year to live, adding that the Peace wou'd be concluded in Three Years. The Design of the Pontiff was to dispose *Richlieu* to hearken to the Proposals of Peace that had been offer'd.

Lewis was for some time a little reserv'd to-
wards the Cardinal, who had brought him into
these Dangers and Difficulties, out of hatred to
the House of *Austria* for protecting *Mary de*
Medicis, and the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Lorraine*. The
King's Cariage so discourag'd him that he re-
solv'd to give up his Employ; but Father *Jo-*
seph, who in this Emergency, thought his own in-
terest concern'd in *Richlieu's*, earnestly pers'd
him to continue it, doing him in this the same
good Office the Cardinal *de la Valette* had be-
fore done him on a like Occasion. The Capu-
chine knew that if he had abandon'd the Ministry
at such a Juncture there must be a thorough
Change at Court, and that then he wou'd suffer
for his former Intrigues with him. This uni-
ted them as fast as ever. Peril generally fixes
such Friendships; tho' Men may Envy and Hate
those that they had formerly Leagu'd with, to make
their Fortune, yet standing on the same Bottom,
they will surely stick close together when they are
in Danger, for the Knot, once broke, the whole
Work will be unravell'd, the Michief come out,
and the Doers of it be punish'd.

The Consternation was so great in *Paris*, that the
Cardinal durst not appear there, he was so sunk in
Body and Mind, that he wou'd have been gone had
not his Friend Father *Joseph* kept him in Heart. His
Confident went to the Superintendant of the Finan-
ces to pray him to go about the Streets of *Paris*, to
hear the Railings of the Rabble, to Salute every Bo-
dy with an Air of Assurance, and tell the *Parisians*
if they will assist the King with Men and Money, he
wou'd drive away the *Spaniards*, enter the Low
Countries, and put every thing to Fire and Sword.
All was at Stake, and *Bullion*, whose Fortune depend-
ed upon *Richlieu's*, got a Horse-back, rode thro' the
City with only Two Lackeys by his Side. The Rab-
ble first fell a Railing at and Cursing him, and the
Cardinal bore all patiently. They call'd him *Robber*
and *Hangman*, he bow'd, and by his Civilities so

appeas'd them, that at last they turn'd their Threats and Curses against the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. The Way being thus prepar'd for the Cardinal, he made his Appearance the next Day, he rode in his Coach without Guards or Halberdiers, he stop'd where the Croud was greatest, and his firm Look had so good an Effect, that the *Parisians* durst not Insult him. His Courage, Constancy and Promises so pleas'd them, that those who Yesterday rail'd so bitterly at his Ministry, to Day give him a Thousand Blessings, and put up Prayers for his Prosperity.

Never had the Affairs of *France* been so embarrass'd since the Battle of *St. Quintin*, as they were this Year 1636. The Minister whose Politicks are so cry'd up by his Mercenaries, and the Slaves that admire them; this very Minister, I say, has brought *France* into the most miserable Condition it was in since *Charles the Fifth's* Time. The *Spaniards* are ravaging the Country on one Side to the Gates of *Paris*, on the other the *Germans* do the same in *Burgundy*, and the *Spanish* Fleet insults the Coasts of *Guyenne*. When Count *Gala*, who commanded the Imperial Army under the King of *Hungary*, enter'd *Burgundy*, he publish'd a Manifesto complaining, "That *Lewis* had endeavour'd to kindle a Civil War in the Empire, That he had continually assisted the late King of *Sweden*, That since the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, he had bought of the *Svedes* several Places belonging to the Emperor, That contrary to all Justice he had taken away the Duke of *Lorraine's* Territories, That he had sacrific'd the Interest of his Religion, and the Welfare of his Subjects to his unjust Projects, That so many Acts of Violence and Injustice, had oblig'd the Emperor and the King of *Hungary* his Son, to take up Arms to put a stop to the Course of the Violent Counsels given to *Lewis*; that they both hop'd all good *French* Men wou'd approve of their Resolution, and be so far from supporting a Bloody Minister, Author of the War, that they would assist their Imperial and *Hungarian* Majesties in their laudable Design, to establish a Solid and Lasting Peace; thro'

“all Europe. That to give a certain Proof of the Sincerity of their Intentions, the Emperor and his Son took into their Protection all those French Men that made no Resistance, and declar’d that those only shou’d feel the Effects of their Majesties Indignation and Wrath, who obstinately persisted in supporting *Lewis’s* Minister, by whose ill Counsells this Unjust and Bloody War was kindled in *Christendom*.” If the *Spaniards* had known how to improve the Opportunity put into their hands, by *Richlieu’s* Rashness and his Ignorance in Military Affairs, *France* had not made so formidable a Figure in the Reign of the Son of *Lewis* the First.

The Duke of *Orleans* being at the Head of one Army, and the Count de *Soissons* of another, the Two Princes enter’d into a Correspondence to take hold of the Occasion, and destroy their common Enemy, *Richlieu*. The Duke de la *Vallette*, Governor of *Peronne*, promis’d to deliver that Place to them, the Dukes de *Bouillon* and de *Retz* were in the Secret, *Montresor*, the Duke of *Orleans’s* Confident, had a Cousin German, Monsieur *St. Ibal*, who was as much in the Confidence of the Count de *Soissons*, and these Two Princes meeting at *Peronne*, by means of their Two Confidents, enter’d into Conferences to effect the Ruin of *Richlieu*: Some of their Friends were for causing it to be represented to the King, that the War was only on Account of the Cardinal’s Ambition, that ’twas very dangerous, the Country being expos’d to the Invasion of Foreigners, and the Nobility so discontented, that civil Commotions were every Day breaking out in many Parts of the Kingdom. Others were for the shorter way, and that was to secure *Richlieu’s* Person, which wou’d presently restore Peace both at Home and Abroad.

While this Intrigue was on Foot between the Two Princes, the Cardinal’s Enemies, himself had another to remove the Duke de *St. Simon*, the King’s Favourite; that Duke, disgusted that he cou’d not save his Uncle *St. Leger*, Governor of *Catalet*, from being condemn’d to be torn in Pieces by Four Horses, had carry’d himself a little Sullenly to the Cardinal, who

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resolv'd to let no Opportunity Slip to get him out of the way. The first that offer'd did the Business, it being known that *St. Simon* had sent a Courier to to his Uncle to advise him of what was acting against him, and that he might make his Escape, the Cardinal represented this as an unpardonable Crime, for tho' *St. Leger* was not provided for a Siege, and *Richieu* knew it his own Fault in not taking Care to have him well supply'd, yet for his own Reputation sake he wou'd have had that Gentleman to have been so barbarously Murder'd, and by Form of Law too, had not his Nephew done what he did to save him. The Duke de *St. Simon* was however order'd to his Government of *Blaie*, under Pretence that the *Spaniards* threaten'd it; a little while after he had new Orders sent him not to stir thence, and *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, was in Hopes of succeeding *St. Simon* in his Majesty's good Graces, but the Cardinal took care to prevent his insinuating himself farther into them than he thought fit. *Chavigni* wrote a Letter to the Cardinal de la *Vallete* on this Subject, which ended thus:

I Accompany'd the King to Chantilli. My Lord, the Cardinal order'd me not to leave his Majesty, the good Humour he is now in, shews that Monsieur de *St. Simon* had not done well, he is confin'd to his Government; when I tell you the Particulars of all this, you will be surpriz'd, the King has not cast his Eye upon any one; in all likelihood, he will not have another Favourite; he still Loves Mademoiselle de la Fayette, who does neither Good nor Harm; Nevertheless he talks frequently to Mademoiselle de Hautefort.

Nothing cou'd have sav'd France from the miserable Condition to which she was lately reduc'd by the Arms of Queen *Anne*, our most Gracious Sovereign, ev'n in the War we are now treating of had the King of *Spain's* Counsellors acted with that

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Vigor and Constancy which *Richlieu* shew'd on this Occasion, to recover the Ground lost by the ill step he had taken in entring so rashly into the War, or had the *Germans* for once shewn their Heads were as fit for Council, as their Hands for acting. But the slowness and irresolution of the Confederates gave the Cardinal time to get a Powerful Army together, at the Head of which *Lewis* march'd against the Enemy in Person. However, all his Prudence wou'd not have prevented the *Spaniards* entring into the Heart of *France*, had not the Prince of *Orange* press'd them hard in the *Netherlands*, and the *Catalans* and *Portuguese* made a Diversion on their side. Fortune has been the Safety of *France* more than once within this Century, sometimes by Lucky Turns in War, sometimes by Turns as lucky in Peace. And now all the Clouds that hung over her dispers'd on a sudden as fast as they gather'd, owing more to the ill Conduct of her Enemies, than either her own Politicks or Power.

The Cardinal's Body was as much out of Order as his Mind, yet amidst the troublesome Pains of his ulcerated *Hemorrhoids* he follow'd the King, accompany'd by his *Capuchine*. In a Letter he wrote the Cardinal *de la Valette* of the 23d of *August* 1636, he gives us a lively Idea of the State of Affairs in the *French Court* at that time. You will see the War does not go very well with us, since as ill as I am. I am forc'd to go my self; the Cowardice of Three Rascals who wou'd not defend themselves in Three Places, with which they were trusted, has put our Affairs into a bad Condition. Next Month we shall have an Army of 20000 Horse, and 25000 Foot, we shall then march directly against the Enemy. The Cardinal wou'd very feign have Commanded this Army, the Count *de Soissons* to have commanded under him. He caus'd the Proposal to be made to the Count, who rejected it with Scorn. I had rather, said he, the Cardinal shou'd be my Enemy, than I be his Slave. To mortify him *Richlieu* got the Duke of *Orleans* to be declar'd Lieutenant General, tho' *Gaston* was to have had no Command at all, had

had the Cardinal's Proposal to *Soissons* been accepted. The Cardinal knew very well he shou'd have the sole Command in effect as long as the King was Present, and therefore he did not care who had the Title. He had consulted his Astrologers on the Success of the War. Wicked Ministers are always Superstitious, and none was ever more so than this Priest. Being promis'd that his old good Luck shou'd attend him, he was for marching immediately to the Enemy, the *Mareschal de la Force* objected, that it were better to stay a little, the Troops being new Levies. The Cardinal reply'd with an Air of Disdain, *This Phlegm is neither seasonable, nor to my Gout. We must march immediately and oblige the Enemy, now very much weaken'd, to retire.* Proposals of Peace being made at the same time on the part of *Mary de Medicis*, *We will hear them*, says he insulting her, *when the Queen Mother is return'd to France.* *Richlieu* did not only consult Astrologers about the Success of the War, he entertain'd a Fellow call'd *Borsmeille*, who pretended to have found out the Philosophers Stone, and promis'd to furnish 200000 Crowns a Week to carry it one. *Grotius* in one of his Letters, speaks of this Impostor, who was a little while after thrown into Prison, and the Court did what they cou'd to stifle a Business that had made them so Ridiculous, and shew'd so much their Necessities.

By the Junction of the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Frontier Provinces *Lewis's* Army was encreas'd to 50000 Men, and the *Spaniards* having strengthen'd the Garrisons of the Towns they had taken, repass'd the *Somme*. 'Tis said the Duke of *Orleans* and the Count de *Soissons*, who commanded under him, might have cut off their Rear, but those two Princes did not think fit to put too much Power into the Hands of the Cardinal, by the Defeat of his Enemies. *Richlieu* saw, or suspected, their Negligence, and did not fail to represent it in the worst Colours to the King, that his Majesty might give him the Sole Command as well in Title as in Substance. For that Report seem'd to justify his be-
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ing prefer'd to the Presumptive Heir to the Crown, and the Second Prince of the Blood. One may percieve what were his Sentiments by this Passage, in a Letter of his to one of his Friends. *The Enemy retir'd too soon out of Picardy, where those that had the Charge of pursuing them march'd too slowly. Multitude of Generals never forward Affairs.*

In the mean time the Conspiracy against him continu'd, and *Montresor de St. Ibal* endeavour'd to push the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Soissons to Extremities. They hinted the taking him off now they had him in the Army, and an Opportunity offer'd which was a strong Temptation; but the Two Princes wou'd not hear of getting rid of him by Assassination. When the Cardinal came first to the Army, 'twas drawn up in Order of Battle to do him Honour. His Troop of *Gens d'Armes* wou'd take the Right of the Count de Soissons's, the Dispute went so far, that they laid their Hands on their Pistols on both sides. *St. Ibal* told the Count, that now was the Time for him to deliver himself of a dangerous Enemy. He might have done it without running any Risk, the Count was as much belov'd as the Cardinal was hated by the Soldiery; however he wou'd not hear of having him kill'd. *Don't name it to me, says he to his Confident, it shall never be said that I gave my Consent to the Murder of a Priest.* The Cardinal order'd his Troops to give Place to the Count de Soissons's. When the King heard of this Dispute, he said, *It might have cost him dear, what Business had he there? His Troop ought not to take Place of Monsieur the Count's, whose Post is next to my Brother's.* The next Day his Majesty din'd with the Count, and was in a mighty good Humour with him, which made People think, that if any such Accident had at that Time happen'd to the Cardinal, he wou'd not have been very sorry for it. This Occasion of ridding themselves of him being lost, another happen'd soon after. There was an Extraordinary Council held at *Amiens*, Five Hundred Gentlemen and Officers of the Army attended, the Duke of Orleans and the Count de

Soissons, besides their Ordinary Guards. The Two Princes might have done what they would, the King going as soon as the Council was broken up to his Quarters without the City, and the Duke and the Count were alone with the Cardinal. *Montresor* took an Opportunity to demand of *Gaston* whether they kept in the same mind still, the Duke of *Orleans* said, Yes, but when he came to the Point, neither of the Princes would consent that he should be kill'd. They were for doing their utmost to remove him, but would not have him murder'd. *Gaston*, however, declar'd that he would do any thing else to have the Ministry put into other Hands; in order to which, he dispatch'd *Montresor* to *Guyenne*, to engage the Duke d' *Epernon*, and his Son the Duke de la *Valette* to joyn with them. *Gaston* left the Army after *Corbie* was re-taken, and retir'd to *Blois*, to have more leisure to think of forming a Party against the Cardinal, and to take from him the many Opportunities he had, while he and the Count de *Soissons* were together, to seize both their Persons. The King and Court returning to *Paris*, when the Campaign was over, *Gaston* came thither also, but did not stay long there. He and the Count de *Soissons* left the Court the same Night without taking their leave of the King. The Duke of *Orleans* having concerted Measures with the Count for carrying on their Designs, went to *Blois*, and the Count to *Rheims*, from whence he remov'd to *Sedan*; both of them excus'd their withdrawing by Letters to the King, in which all their Complaints center'd in their Grievances under *Richieu's* Ministry, and the danger that threaten'd their Liberty. *Montresor* was sent to engage the Duke d' *Epernon*, on whose Assistance the Two Princes depended, encourag'd by the Promises of the Duke de la *Valette*, but tho' d' *Epernon* hated the Cardinal, yet either he was too Old or too Prudent to embark in a Business that was so hazardous, and had hitherto fail'd of Success whoever attempted it. The Duke de la *Valette* press'd his Father, but he was inflexible, and all he would do for *Montresor* was

was to Promise not to discover that he had been sent to him, or on what Errand.

However, the Cardinal who had his Emiffaries every where, came to the Knowlegde of it, and of the Advice the Duke had given the Two Princes not to embroil the Kingdom in a Civil-War. To continue him in that Loyal Disposition, the Chancellor *Seguier* was order'd to write him a Letter, to let him know how well the King was satisfy'd with his Conduct. The Duke turn'd off the Compliment, that he might not break his Word given *Gaston* to keep what had been done on this Occasion a Secret. But all this Bustle ended as other such Quarrels had usually done. The Cardinal thought it his surest way to divide the Two Princes. He set upon the Duke of *Orleans* first, and one of the Persons that was sent to bring him to an Accommodation was the Count *de Guiche*, afterwards *Mareschal de Grammont*, who at a Supper with the Duke of *Orleans* at *Blois*, drank so freely, that he grew Drunk, and in his Cups address'd himself thus to *Monsieur*; *I have been offer'd, Sir, to be made first Gentleman of your Bed-Chamber, but I excus'd my self; God forbid I shou'd ever act the Part of a Traitor as several of your Domesticks have done.* Then he nam'd some of them. *I am a Man of Quality*, continues he, *and will do nothing but what's Honourable; I am one of the Cardinal's Servants, and am ready to serve him against you, and all the Royal Family.* I do not wonder that Ministers who usurp more Power than belongs either to them or their Masters, shou'd find such Zealous Servants; where the Power is, the Posts will be, and Courtiers seldom consider any thing else in their Politicks. Tho' one wou'd think the Cardinal shou'd have check'd *Guiche* for this Impudent Declaration yet he was the better receiv'd by him for it, and found his Account in insulting the Presumptive Heir of the Crown to his Face, and at his own Table.

The Cardinal after he had with Success began a Negotiation with *Gaston*, sent Monsieur *Liancourt*

to the Count *de Soissons* to do the same with him, for the Count talk'd of entring into Alliances with Foreigners, and *Richlieu* dreaded more than ever to see the *Germans* and *Spaniards* in *France* again, whence they had been driven as much by the Winter as by their Enemies. The Count *de Soissons* did not hearken to a Treaty so readily as the Duke of *Orleans*, who, to colour the matter, talk'd of his Interests a little in the Negotiation, but did not adhere to them, abandoning them as soon as ever his own cou'd be advanc'd by it, as he had done the Interests of all that had engag'd with him. *Soissons* insisted to *Liancourt* that the Treaty shou'd, be carry'd on joyntly, and *St. Ival*, his Confident, demanded in his Master's Name, a *Place of Safety*, telling him the Count had very Advantageous Officers from Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*; that *John de Wert* and *Picolomini*, the Imperial Generals had Orders to supply him with what Troops he wanted, and that there was Money in Bank at *Luxemburgh* to serve upon Occasion.

We see how the Princes and great Lords of *France* will talk in the Reign of Minors, and Kings, whose Minority never end when 'tis in the Understanding and not in their Age. The Count *de Soissons* must have a Town, or *France* shall be invaded by a *German* Army paid out of Money from the Low-Countries. Things of this Nature are not impossible to happen again, but when it will be, I am not Prophet nor Politician enough to determine.

Richlieu, impatient to put an end to an Accommodation with the Duke of *Orleans*, whose junction with *Soissons* he was afraid of, not so much out of Apprehension of his own Power, as of the Augmentation it wou'd be to the Count's, a Prince of more Courage and Constancy, he therefore advis'd the King to draw towards *Blois* with a Body of Troops to hasten the Negotiation, but he facilitated it more by perswading the King to Consent to the Duke of *Orleans*'s Match, a Condition, without which, *Gaston* was resolv'd to put all to the Venture.

ture. Was not this a Glorious Triumph of the Duke of Orleans, that after all the Opposition he had met with in that Affair from his Brother and his Minister, he at last obliges them to own that Marriage which they had so solemnly declar'd Null by the Voices of a pack'd Assembly of Bishops, and the Parliament of Paris? Richieu who dreaded the Count de Soissons more than Orleans, got the King to write him an obliging Letter on the Accommodation with Gaston, and himself also sent him another. He had heard of a Treaty concluded between Mary de Medicis and the Count; for tho' the Queen Mother had no Money nor Men of her own, she cou'd get what was wanted of the Cardinal Infant, Governor of the Netherlands, and the Spaniards, if there was an Encouragement from France. But Soissons not being willing to depend on that Assistance, broke his word with her and them, and made up his Matters with the Court, on Condition he shou'd have leave to stay at Sedan, or any other Town of his Governments of Champagne and Dauphine, that the King shou'd pay the Garrison of Sedan, and Pardon the House of Bouillon for giving Entertainment to Soissons; that he shou'd pay the Duke de Bouillon the Arrearages of his Pensions and Assignments, that the Count be restor'd to the peaceable Enjoyment of all his Offices, Benefices and other Revenues, that all his Followers shou'd be pardon'd, &c. Thus did Gaston and the Count make their Advantage of their Dispute with the Minister, who had so much Danger threatening him from Abroad, that he cou'd not do what he wou'd with his Enemies at Home, especially such Enemies as the King's Brother, and the Second Prince of the Blood. His own Inclination, and the Authority given him by the weakness of Lewis the Just, wou'd have concluded these Differences in another Manner, had not the Count de Olivarez at Madrid cut him out other work. The War abroad cost immense Sums, and France had not yet learn'd the Doctrine since preach'd and practis'd there, that All Money is the King's. The

Parliament of *Roan* refus'd to verify any of the Pecuniary Edicts. But *Richlieu* took the shortest way with them, he sent the Chancellor *Seguier* to execute that Commission, not attended by Lawyers and learned Men to prove the Law, and the Reason of the Thing, but by the *French* and *Swiss* Guards, several Regiments of Foot, and 1200 Horse who quarter'd at *Roan* all the while *Seguier* was there managing the Affair of Verification. These powerful Arguments have since convinc'd the *French* Nation of their Duty in Submitting to Will and Pledsure, and patiently paying whatever is enjoyn'd them. The Count de *Soissons* expected great Matters from this *Norman* Business, in which he found himself disappointed, as in the Dependance he made on the Promises of the Duke de la *Valette*. Upon which, says my Author, He resolv'd to remain for some Time quiet at *Sedan* in Expectation that the *French* growing weary of enduring the Tyranny of *Richlieu*, wou'd at last open their Eyes, and embrace Principles worthy a brave Nation and a Free one, according to the first Constitution of its Government.

This is what a *Frenchman* tells us, and by this we see that 'tis not the Law, but the Sword, that makes 'em what they are now, the most miserable Slaves in *Europe*; such Slaves that they seem to have forgot they had ever been Free, and so us'd to it, that 'tis become as natural to them as their Vanity and Impertinences. This must not be intended of the Wise and Great Men of that Nation as productive of both as any in *Christendom*, but of the many of the Multitude who have so long been the Instruments not only of their own Slavery, but of that almost of all the other Christian Nations, which had the *Universal Monarchy* obtain'd, wou'd have had no more Happiness in this World than *Turks* and *Pagans*.

In the Year 1637, the Arms of *France* were a little more successful than they had been the Year before, only in the *Valteline* the *French* Army was forc'd in a manner to deliver themselves up Prisoners of War, being oblig'd to March off by what Routes, in what Proportion of Numbers, and with what

Arms their Enemies wou'd let them. The French Strength was at the height this Year, during this Ministry, they had 80000 Foot and 20000 Horse of their own Troops in Pay, besides the Troops of their Confederates; they paid 1000000 Livres yearly to the Crown of Sweden, 1200000 to the States General of the United Provinces, 500000 to the Duke of Savoy, 500000 to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, 300000 to the Duke de Saxe Weymar, and 1000000 for the Maintinance of his Troops. They had Two Fleets at Sea, and the whole Expence amounted to 30000000, which was then thought to be an incredible Sum, but the French have since expended, for the Ambition of their Crown, 150 Millions yearly.

In our Days had a General Officer been so well thrash'd as the Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux* was by the Mareschal de *Viri*, he wou'd hardly ever have been able to have recover'd his Reputation; but that good Prelate, supported by the Cardinal, had the same Command given him this Year as he had the last, and the Two Isles of *St. Margaret* and *St. Honorat* being re-taken from the Spaniards, the Bishop, who had been so well bang'd, was of a sudden exalted into a Heroe; the Publick News-writers said of him as they did of the Mareschals de *Boufflers* and *Villars* at the Rout at *Tanieres*, My Lord Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux* behav'd himself not like a General of an Army but like a Private Centinel, he was follow'd by all the Nobles who did Wonders. This Account was given by himself, and a great deal more of such Stuff, with an intent to have it put in the Newspapers at *Paris*, which was done accordingly verbatim. With much ado, the French Arch-Bishop with about 20000 Men Soldiers and Sea-men, drove 1000 Spaniards out of the Island of *St. Margaret* in a Month or two's time, upon which they left the Isle of *St. Honorat*.

The Normans were not the only People of France that murmur'd at the heavy Burthen of Taxes impos'd on them by a Voracious Minister. Those of *Guyenne* again took Arms, but the Duke de la *Ville*

leste, the Marquis de Duras, the Count de Maille and other Lords fell upon them and forc'd them to submit. However, the Court thought fit to ease them a little of their Burthen to prevent another Rising.

The Spaniards having enter'd Languedoc and laid Siege to Leucate, the Duke du Halluin, afterwards Marechal de Schomberg, whose Son he was, oblig'd them to raise the Siege by an Action which the Cardinal and Lewis XIII. himself cry'd up as one of the greatest Victories of that Age; the King said in his Order for causing *Te Deum* to be sung all over France, that his Cousin Halluin had gain'd an entire Victory and kill'd 3500 Men on the spot. The Duke de Halluin himself in his Letter to the Parliament of Toulouse says, it was but 2000 Men; the King tells the World that he took and flung into the Lake de Salces 66 Cannon, the Duke says but 37. Halluin's Letter is much more Modest and True, yet as True and as Modest as his was, 'twas an Exaggeration of the Fact, which was thus, as French Authors themselves report it in Exact and Impartial Memoirs. The Duke de Halluin attacking the Spanish Intrenchments before Leucate after Sun-set, the Spaniards when Night came on cou'd not distinguish False Attacks from True, and in that Confusion the French enter'd their Camp, which they nevertheless maintain'd till Morning, when they made a Brave Retreat, and so Vigorously repuls'd those that pursu'd them that several fled back as far as Narbonne." I mention this particular because it shews us how long the French Court have been us'd to impose upon the World and mock God in their *Te Deums*, an Author of that Nation makes these Just Reflections on this subject. The King's Account of this Battle in his Letter for a General Thanksgiving did not agree with the Duke de Halluin's; the same Error will be often observ'd in latter Parts of the French History, by comparing the Letters of Lewis XIV. with the exact Relations of his pretended Victories, for which he has so often caus'd *Te Deums* to be Sung, tho' he has lost more Men than

his Enemies. This Success made the Duke de Halluin a Marechal of France, as has been hinted, and that confirm'd him still more in the Interests of the Cardinal Minister, who perswaded his Master to throw the Marechal de Vitri into the Bastille, and the Count d'Alerz, the Duke d'Angoulesmes's Son had his Government of Provence. None sure cou'd pity the Fall of that Cruel Marechal, who had made his Fortune by the Blood of a Minister less Arbitrary than his Successors, whose Creature Vitri had been, and such Creatures, however they may for a time Flourish, will always be Examples of the Justice and good Providence of God in giving them the Reward of their Evil Doings, in this Life as well as the next.

We have already made mention of Lewis's Friendship to Mademoiselle de la Fayette, Maid of Honour to his Consort Ann of Austria. Grotius calls this Love Platonick, be it what it will, and putting the best Construction upon it, 'tis certain Lewis was very well inclin'd towards her, and ready enough to follow her Advice. The Cardinal's Enemies of whom 'tis said the Queen's Consort was one, after there remain'd no Hopes of hurting him by the Differences between the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Soissons, and the Court, gain'd over this *la Fayette* and the King's Confessor to represent to him the Injustice and Wickedness of carrying on a Bloody War for the Pleasure or Profit of his Minister. Some are of Opinion that Father Joseph, who was willing enough that Richlieu shou'd be turn'd out, provided he might be put in his Place, excited his Kinswoman, *la Fayette* under-hand, to endeavour to raise Scruples in the King's Mind about the War, and particularly his Alliances with Protestants. The Cardinal discover'd all that pass'd between Lewis and *la Fayette*, by means of one Boizervul whom the King had taken out of the Wardrobe to make one of his first Valets de Chambres; Richlieu suspected there must be something extraordinary in giving him a Place so near the King's Person without his Knowledge, and that there were Secrets entrusted with him which it

was for his Interest to know; so meeting him one Day, he said to him with a sour and threatening Look; *Well Sir, you are First Valet de Chambre, and you got the Place without my knowing of it, we shall see whether you will keep it long; Boizenval* not doubting but the Cardinal wou'd make good his Threats went to him and most humbly beg'd his Protection, promising to devote himself entirely to his Service. *Richlieu* reply'd, *You may expect any Thing of me, if you tell me faithfully every thing that passes between the King and Mademoiselle de la Fayette, give me the Billets they write to one another before you deliver them, I know very well they have taken you to make use of you in such Messages.*

This Incident will shew us with what Honour, what Openness such Ministers as *Richlieu* behave themselves in their Ministry, how free they are from corrupting others or being corrupted themselves. Such Actions as these in the Lower World wou'd be deem'd and nam'd downright Fraud and Villany, but among certain States men they are dignify'd with the Title of Politicks, and those only Laught at who are deceiv'd by them.

The Traitor *Boizenval* too punctually obey'd the Cardinal. As he said he did, nothing by Order of *Lewis* and *la Fayette* but he acquainted *Richlieu* with it; he gave him their Billets, by which means the Cardinal discover'd what Designs were carrying on against him. He took the Alarm, and left no Stone unturn'd to get *la Fayette* remov'd from Court, he perswaded *Boizenval* to report things to the King and the Lady, otherwise than they were said by both of them, to create in them a mutual Disgust; he open'd their Billets, kept those that he did not like, and put others very well counterfeited into the Place of them; he made the King say what he knew wou'd vex his Friend, and *la Fayette* what he thought wou'd do the same by the King. *Boizenval* was found out in the first Conversation *Lewis* and the Lady had on this subject, the King turn'd the Rascal out of his Post, and *Richlieu* was so far from interceding for him, that he was glad he was serv'd

to himself: This Trick not succeeding, the Cardinal threaten'd the Marchioness *de Senecey*, First Lady of Honour to the Queen, and the Bishop of *Limoges*, *la Fayette's* Uncle, to ruin them, unless they both engag'd her to quit the Queen's Service, the Marchioness and the Bishop knowing his Revengful Spirit and his Power to execute his Threats, so set the Lady against the King by False Reports and Counterfeit Letters, that she at last resolv'd to retire into a Convent. Father *Joseph*, who was afraid the Intrigue shou'd be discover'd, together with his share in it, contributed to her Retreat, and she left the Court with a Constancy that encreas'd the Esteem which every Body had of her Vertue and Merit. She told the King she was resolv'd to leave the World to devote her self to the Service of a Lord who was greater than all the Monarchs upon Earth, and conjur'd his Majesty with Tears in her Eyes to give Peace to his People. *Lewis* wept as much as she, and and after she was gone went often to the Grate of the Monastery to converse with her. Sometimes the Gates were open'd to him, and he never came away from her but in a deep Melancholly. The Queen was afraid it wou'd have had an ill effect on his Health, and being very well satisfy'd of *la Fayette's* Vertue, endeavour'd to perswade her not to take the Veil. All her Perswasions were in vain, the Lady spent the rest of her Days in the Monastery, where *Lewis* Having been once to visit her, staid so late that he cou'd not return to the Place from whence he came to her. *Grobois*, where he then lodg'd, for the Diversion of Hunting, a Shour of Rain drove him to the *Louvre*, and that Night he Lay with his Queen, who soon after was found with Child, if you will believe some Historians; others give another Turn to the Conception of *Ann of Austria*, but I shall not pretend to determine a Matter so dark as the Birth of Princes. Not content with having tender'd all the Princes of the Blood Royal odious, or suspected by his Majesty, with having entirely alienated his Affections from his Brother, and kept his Mother in a long Exile,

He, with having banish'd his most dear Friend *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, the Cardinal endeavour'd to create a Division in the King's Bed, and to alienate his Affections also from his Wife, whom *Richlieu* hated. It now came into his Head to engage the King to repudiate the Queen, and take his Niece *Combalet* in her Place. He represented her as unlawful both to his Bed and Crown; Horrid Calumny! That she corresponded with the Cardinal Infant, which she did only to incline him to do his good Offices for procuring the Peace of *Christendom*. *De Porte*, who had been a Servant to the Dutcheß *de Chevreuse*, and was by her recommended to the Service of the Queen Consort, was employ'd to carry that Princess's Letters to the Cardinal Infant at *Brussels*. She us'd to put them into a Box in her Oratory at *Val de Grace*, where she often retir'd for her Devotion; one of the Nuns of that Monastery gave them to *De Porte*, who deliver'd back the Answers he brought to the same Nun and gave them to the Queen, who read them in her Oratory and kept them there. *Richlieu* having intimation of this Correspondence, resolv'd to break it off, and that in as publick a manner as he cou'd. *Lewis* believ'd every thing that was told him of his Wife's corresponding with the *Spaniards*, and had great expectation of making further Discoveries by the examination of *de Porte*, who was order'd to be apprehended and brought before *Chavigni*, Secretary of State; *Chavigni* examin'd him in his Bed-Chamber, *Richlieu* lying on the Bed with the Curtains drawn close that he might hear and not be seen. *De Porte* mistrusting some such Ambuscade, was very careful not to say any thing in the Answers to the Questions that were put to him, which might be a Proof against him. The Cardinal being thus disappointed, got an Order for the Chancellor *Seguier* to go to *Val de Grace* when the Queen was there for her Devotions, to examine her, and carefully Visit her Appartment, to open all Boxes, Trunks, Closets, &c. and bring away all the Papers he cou'd find there, a Commission which none but such an abandon'd Slave to the

Ministers Will could have dar'd to accept of. However he gave her Majesty private Notice of it, the Queen immediately sent her First Lady of Honour, the Marchioness de Senecy, to *Puyseux*, late Secretary of State, who liv'd at a Country Seat of his near *Paris*, and beg'd him to advise her what she shou'd do at so Critical a Juncture. *Puyseux* could not tell what to do, he knew his utter Ruin would be inevitable if *Richlieu* shou'd come to the Knowledge of his assisting the Queen with his Counsels; however, at last he resolv'd rather to expose himself to the Resentment of an Enemy than refuse to serve a Princess in so great Distress. His Advice was to hear what the Chancellor had to say to her, to study her Answers well before hand, and to give *Seguier*, who appear'd to be well dispos'd, no Handle against her. *Seguier* came to *Val de Grace*, attended by the Arch Bishop of *Paris*, presented his Commission to the Queen, and ask'd her the Questions that were prescrib'd him. He did it also in such a manner as to insinuate to her Majesty what she shou'd say for her Justification. *I never wrote any thing*, said she, *prejudicial to the State, I own I Love my Brother, but I also know my Duty to the King*. The Queen gave him her Keys, the Boxes were open'd and no Papers to be found. She had time to remove all that were there, the Chancellor found only some Devotional Memoirs, which he gave the King and Cardinal an account of. The Cardinal was so confounded he cou'd scarce tell how to behave himself: He turn'd the Matter off as well as he cou'd, and appear'd mighty Zealous in promoting a Reconciliation between the King and Queen, which was effected in a few Days. The Dutchess de *Chevreuse* who had been confin'd to *Tours*, was order'd to *Lockes*, from whence she made her Escape by the way of *Berry* to *Spain*, fearing the cruel Effects of the Ministers Revengeful Temper. The Prince of *Marillac*, Son to the Duke de la *Rocheaucault*, who assisted the Dutchess in her Escape, was sent to the *Bastille*. Some time after *Richlieu* offer'd her a Pardon for her pretended Crime, in concealing the Queen's

Queen's Intelligence with the Spaniards, on Condition
 she would confess, which the Dutchess refus'd.
 Being thus got rid of a *Faictre*, the next thing
 the Cardinal had to do was to clear the Court of
 Father *Causin*, the King's Confessor, and Father *Mo-*
nod Director to the Dutchess of Savoy; the latter
 was invited to Paris by *Richlieu* himself, in hopes
 of gaining him over to his Interest, and by that
 means always have a fast Friend in the Court of
 Savoy. But *Monod* was so Faithful to the Dutch-
 ess of Savoy, Daughter of *Mary de Medicis*, that
 he never left perswading *Causin* till he had en-
 gag'd him to promise to do his utmost to oblige
 his Penitent *Lewis XIII.* to do his Duty to his
 Mother. Accordingly *Causin* let no Occasion slip
 of surging it with the greatest Vehemency. By
 this means was *Lewis's* Conscience in Trouble,
 not only on Account of his Mother but the As-
 sistance he had given the Swedes and the States
 General, Hereticks against Catholick Princes. He
 push'd these Matters so home, that the King be-
 gan to fear God would demand an Account
 of him for all the Injustice *Richlieu* had made
 him commit, insomuch that he promis'd with a
 sigh, that the Cardinal should be remov'd as soon
 as they could propose to him a Person as capa-
 ble to bear the Burthen of Affairs. *Causin* was
 not prepar'd to make any such Proposition, he
 had thoughts of recommending Father *Joseph*, but
 that *Capuchine* was too cunning to embark on his
 Bottom. About this time the Duke of Savoy
 dy'd and an Accident happen'd which might have
 been improv'd to the Cardinal's Disadvantage, had
 his Enemies known how to make the best use of
 Opportunities. Funeral Obsequies for that Prince
 being to be perform'd in the Church of *Notre*
Dame, the Cardinal went thither, accompany'd
 by his Guards, their Captain at the Head of
 them. A *Prie Dieu* and a *Fanteril* were pre-
 par'd for him, the same as for the King him-
 self, the Cardinal plac'd himself with his Guards
 surrounding him.

Nothing

Nothing was wanting to this Royal Pomp but that the Velvet Covering was not adorn'd with *Flower de Lucies*. Every Body was surpriz'd at this Presumptuous Innovation. *'Tis not enough, they cry'd, that he has had the Arrogance to usurp the Authority Royal, in a little time he will not have left the King the least mark of Distinction.* Father *Caussin* offer'd the Duke d' *Angouleme* the Place of first Minister, and nam'd him to the King as a Person whose long Experience and Capacity, qualify'd him for the Administration of Affairs; *Lewis* was of the same Opinion. The Duke at that time desir'd *Caussin* to assist him in procuring an Abbey, which he had beg'd of his Majesty. *I will do it with all my Heart,* reply'd the Jesuit taking him by the Hand, *but in a little while you will have more share than any one in the Distribution of Benefices; the King is thinking of something great for you.* *Angouleme* press'd the Jesuit so earnestly to know what it was, that at last he confess'd 'twas to make him Prime Minister, and he beg'd the Duke not to refuse so Important an Employ. *Angouleme* was at first surpriz'd at the Jesuit's boldness, and hesitated in the matter, but at last he gave him his Word, made him a Thousand Promises of Gratitude, and left *Caussin* the most contented Man in the World. But a little while after reflecting on the Vindictive Complexion of *Richlieu*, on his Intelligence within and without the Kingdom, on the Power of a Man that had divided and dispers'd the Royal Family, he was afraid that not only *Caussin*, but himself and all his Family, wou'd be sacrific'd to his Vengeance. So he went to the Cardinal and discover'd all he knew to him. *Richlieu* caress'd him, and return'd him a Thousand Thanks, *I shou'd have known all in a little time, says he, and I wonder the King shou'd so long have made it a Mystery to me; nevertheless I shall be oblig'd to you as long as I live for this Token of your Friendship.* This base Treachery was generally exclaim'd against, and People cry'd, what-else cou'd the King's Confessor expect from a Man who had been so vile as to Coin false Money, and

and had lain Fourteen Years in the Bastille for a Conspiracy against Henry the IVth.

Richlieu fearing the ill Consequence of the King's Intrigues with his Confessor, had recourse to his old Artifices to preserve himself in the Ministry, by pretending a desire to quit it. He wrote a Letter to the King to that effect. It was full of Disorder and Confusion, a true representation of the state of his Mind. Nevertheless being back'd with the Insinuations of his Creatures, and meeting with a good disposition in his Majesty to hearken to anything in his Favour, it answer'd the ends it was intended for. Lewis's Scruples about the Injustice and Sin of his management in the War, and with respect to his Mother diminish'd daily. Other Jesuits, at the instigation of Richlieu, were consulted, and asserted the quite contrary to what Caussin had done. Will you maintain before Monsieur the Cardinal, said the King one Day to his Confessor, that your Exhortations are reasonable, and conformable to Religion. I have talk'd to some of your Fathers, they are not of your Opinion. Do not believe them, Sir, reply'd the Jesuit, They have a Church to build, That's the Reason that Pere S. guerand and others make their Court to the Cardinal. I am satisfy'd that neither they nor any other Divine can alledge any thing solid against what I have remonstrated to your Majesty, and I very readily accept of the Proposal you were pleas'd to make me, to maintain it before Monsieur the Cardinal. Very well, reply'd the King, come to me to St. Germans on Conception Day. Richlieu would not enter the Lists to defend a Cause which apparently was so bad. Instead of that, he made use of all his Wiles to set the King against his Confessor, whom he perswaded him to banish the Court. Accordingly when the Jesuit came to St. Germans at the time appointed, he found the King and Cardinal lock'd up in a Closter together; he expected with Impatience to be call'd, instead of which des Noyers, Secretary of State, came to him, and told him, that the King not doing his Devotions at that time, had no need of his

Con-

Confessor: He return'd to *Paris*, expecting to be ruin'd, as it happen'd, for that very Night an Exempt of the Guards came to him, with an Order to deliver up all his Papers, and be gone presently to *Quimper-Corentin* in *Basse-Bretagne*. The Jesuits, afraid that *Richlieu's* Relentment shou'd reach their whole Body, disown'd Father *Cassin*, made great Submissions to the Triumphant Minister, and said every thing they cou'd think of to the Prejudice of *Cassin*; nay, they were so base as to offer to degrade him of his Order. But *Richlieu* did not care to carry his Revenge so far, for fear it shou'd have at last turn'd upon himself, by bringing the whole Body of the Jesuits upon him; the greater part of them wou'd have cry'd out against so flagrant an Act of Insolence and injustice.

I have already made mention of the Imprisonment of the *Mareschal de Bassompierre*, one of the Bravest and most Gallent Men of his time; he remain'd still in the *Bastille*. The Cardinal had all along flatter'd him with Hopes of a sudden Discharge. But at the latter end of the Year 1637, he found that a Prison was not enough to defend a Man from the Jealousy of a Minister, so wicked and jealous as was *Richlieu*. The *Mareschal* tells us himself the Accident, which more than any thing confirm'd his Majesty in the Offence he had taken against him. "A Rascal I will not Name, says he, because he does not deserve it, talk'd of me to the King in such a manner, as set him more than ever against me, and lost me the Remainders of that good Will which he formerly bore me, if there were any such Remainders in his Breast. After that another Rogue call'd *Dupleix*, a false Historiographer, if there ever was a false one, did me all imaginable ill Offices. *Dupleix* five Years before, had publish'd a History of the Kings of *France* full of Falsities and Trifles. It was brought to me to the *Bastille*, I read it as I do other Books, making Marginal Notes of what I found either False or Foolish in it. A Year after Father *Renaud*, coming to the *Bastille* to confess

"sels the Abbot *de Foix*, told him in Discourse,
 "that one of his Fraternity was about refuting the
 "Errors of *Dupleix*. The Abbot reply'd, I know
 "something that will be a great help to him, *Monsieur*
 "*de Bassompierre* has made very good Re-
 "marks on *Dupleix*, which are written in the Mar-
 "gin of his Book. Upon this they came both to
 "him, and desir'd me to lend them the Book for
 "a Day or two, which I did accordingly, and they
 "got a Copy taken of the Notes I had made.
 "They then restor'd my Book, and publish'd my
 "Remarks some time after, with several Addi-
 "tions, making no scruple to alledge that what
 "was most severe and shocking was mine, what
 "modest and civil their own. *Dupleix* carry'd
 "the Remarks to several Friends of mine, point-
 "ing to some malicious Calumnies incerted among
 "them, which I knew nothing of, and endeavouring
 "to perswade them that I wrote them as well as
 "the rest of the Notes. The Parties concern'd
 "complain'd to me of it, I shew'd them the Ori-
 "ginals, and they were satisfy'd. However, *Du-*
 "*pleix* had better success with the Ministers, to
 "whom he also carry'd them. There were seve-
 "ral passages put in against the present Govern-
 "ment, and all imputed to me. The King was
 "told of it, 'twas insinuated that it appear'd plainly
 "by these pretended Remarks, that I hated both
 "his Person and the State. Some, whom I had
 "oblig'd in my good Fortune, were the most for-
 "ward to give his Majesty these ill Impressions
 "of me, and the matter was carry'd so far, that
 "the Scoundrel *Dupleix* was permitted to write a
 "Book on that subject against me, and got Letters
 "Patents for the Printing of it.
 "Another Adventure happen'd about the same time,
 "which tho' it relates particularly to the *Mareschal*
 "*de Bassompierre*, serves to give us a general Idea of
 "the Malice and Authority of *Richlieu*. A Trooper
 "was sent to the *Bastille* for singing a Song which
 "began with these Words, *Mettre Bassompierre en*
 "*Prison*. There were some biting Things in it a-
 "gainst

gainst the Cardinal, which was enough to hurry the Soldier a way to Goal. He was several times examin'd, and prov'd that the Song was made when *Bassompierre* was first arrested, nevertheless, without any formal Proceſs, the poor Trooper was shut up in the *Bastille*, and *Richlieu* did what he cou'd to make the Ballad against him a State Crime. In which as well as in other such Cruel and Tyrannical Practices, he has been more than once imitated by his Successors in the Ministry of France, and all Ministers that act upon the same bottom.

The Duke of *Savoy* dying this Year 1637. the Cardinal's boundless Ambition form'd no less Chimerical Project, than to make himself Prime Minister of that Dutchy, as well as the Kingdom of *France*. *Hemeri*, the French Ambassador in *Savoy*, was to possess himself of *Vercel*, by means of some French Troops in that Neighbourhood, and to secure the Person of the Dutchess Dowager and the Two Princes her Sons. This Project cou'd not be effected without communicating it to the Mareschal de *Cregui*, who commanded the French Troops on that side. God forbid, says the Mareschal, that I should of my own Head be guilty of such an act of Violence against a Daughter of France and a new Sovereign, whose Person and Territories are under the King's Protection. I cannot imagine his Majesty will ever approve of such a thing committed without his express Order. *Hemeri* reply'd, Kings, Sir, will often not Command certain Things to be done, which they approve, at least tacitely when they are well executed. *Cregui* wou'd not hearken to him, and *Christina*, Dutchess Dowager of *Savoy*, either by his or some other means, discovering the Design, so reinforced the Garrison of *Vercel*, and had such a watchful Eye on the French, that *Hemeri*'s Plot was quite spoil'd. However, the Cardinal did not despair of making himself Master of the Dutchess's Counsels, if he was not of her Person. In order to this, his main endeavour was to get the Dutchess to banish Father *Monod*, her Confessor, from Court. He has been mention'd as a Friend to Father *Cassini*, and
always

always firm to the true Interests of *Savoy*, which made him a Friend to the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas*, the Young Duke's two Uncles. *Christina*, jealous that those Two Princes would form Designs against her Regency, began to conceive a jealousy also of *Monod*, who talk'd, as she thought, too much in favour of them. The French Ambassador observing the beginning of her Coldness towards Father *Monod*, let no Opportunity slip to encrease it. *Richlieu* represented him as a Traytor that intended to Poison her and her two Sons, to make room for the Cardinal of *Savoy's* Succession. One merry Thing he added in a Letter of his to *Hemeri*, to be communicated to the Dutchess Dowager. *It does not belong to a Man in his holy Orders, to meddle with State Affairs, and when Madam commands him to follow his Vocation, she cannot but be commended by all the World.* Sure there are Courtiers who believe the rest of Mankind have not common Sense, and cannot find them out when they talk Nonsense, and make themselves Ridiculous. Why should not all the World commend *Lewis* the XIIIth as well if he made *Richlieu* and Father *Joseph* follow their Vocation. The Cardinal added, *Madam may send Father Monod to France.* He wanted to have him in his Clutches, but the Dutchess Dowager was soon after so well satisfy'd of *Monod's* Integrity and Capacity, that she would not then part with him; which for a while made the Cardinal give over his wicked Project, to get the Government of *Savoy* also into his Possession.

I avoid entering upon the Military Exploits of the French Generals during the Continuance of the War, which was carry'd on pretty equally on both sides, only one event that happen'd worth mentioning. The King impatient, that *la Capelle*, in *Picardy*, remain'd still in the Hands of the Spaniards, was for going in Person to press the Blockade. *Richlieu* fearing his absence from *Paris* would be fatal, while the Queen and *la Fayette* still continu'd their Intrigues against him, dissuaded him from it,

not

not without much Opposition, *Lewis's* Heart being set upon that Enterprize. Some time after he heard that *Monsieur de Meillerie*, the Cardinal's Cousin, who commanded the French Army in the Low Countries under *la Valette*, had invested it, and that *la Valette* had left the Siege of *Avesnes*, to retake *la Capelle*. The King thinking this to be a Turn play'd him by *Richlieu*, that *Meillerie* might have the Glory of the Expedition, fell into a furious Passion against both the Cardinal and his Cousin; but Father *Joseph* and others, who were plac'd about his Person to take off the first edge of his fury on all Oceaions, soon made him believe that what was done was for the best, and that *Richlieu*, tho' he knew nothing of his Cousin's intended Enterprize against *la Capelle*, had approv'd of it, because he found his Majesty's Heart was so much set upon recovering that Important Place. Tho' this was plainly a Design to give *Meillerie* more Reputation, and justify his claims of the Batoon, yet the good Monarch put up this Affront as easily as he had done many other.

The Year 1638, says the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* in his Memoirs, began with a good Augury for France, the Queen, as appear'd by several Tokens, was with Child. She had been marry'd Twenty Two Years. The King was in extream Joy, and the French had great hopes of happiness. The mighty Blessing of Peace, which we now enjoy, has seal'd up our Lips and ty'd down our Pens with respect to the Monarch, whom in Compliment we must call, *The most Christian King*. The Incident of his Birth wou'd otherwise admit of various Speculations. I shall see what the same *Mareschal* says of it when I am come to it, and in the mean time content my self with the Reflections of a French Author on this Passage of the *Mareschal's*. " Few People
" are now of the *Mareschal's* Opinion, the Year of
" the Dauphin's Nativity was unfortunate to *Lewis*
" by the shameful raising of Two great Sieges, and
" to his Allies by the ill Success of the Prince of
" *Orange's* Campaign, a bad Augury for France
and

“and the United Provinces. 'Tis true the *French*,
 “weary'd out by the continual Troubles, occasion'd,
 “in a great Measure, by the Queen's Sterility,
 “thought they had reason to rejoyce at her being
 “with Child, in hopes that 'twou'd be a means to
 “procure their Tranquility at Home; but they
 “knew not, Poor Creatures, that the Dauphin, for
 “whose Birth they put up such Ardent Vows to
 “Heaven, wou'd be he of all their Kings, whose
 “Reign wou'd be the most Long, the most Hard,
 “and the most Tyrannical; God gave him in his
 “Wrath to Chastise the Sins of *France*, and afflict
 “all *Europe*; not contented to render his Subjects
 “the most wretched of any People in the World,
 “he has endeavour'd to suppress the Liberty of all
 “his Neighbours. They begin, Thanks be to God,
 “to punish him with *eclat*, for the Infinite Mis-
 “chiefs he has done them, but what Resource has
 “thou, Oh *France* for Thine. *The Rod of the Op-*
 “*pressor* is almost entirely broken for Strangers;
 “but Ah! My dear Country, when will it be
 “broken for thee” This *Frenchman* surely wrote
 when the Duke of *Marlborough* was approaching the
 Banks of the *Somme*, and the *French* Ministers were
 begging Peace at *Gertruydenberg*, and not when
 the *Mareschal de Villars* had surpriz'd the Allies at
Denain, when the Army of *England* had left the
 Confederates, and the *French* Ministers were insult-
 ing the *Dutch* at *Utrecht*.

The Parliament of *Paris* had, as we have seen by
 degrees, lost almost the very Shadow of a Senate,
 their Authority depended on the King's Will and
 that of his Ministers and the Court, who hated them
 for the very Appearance of Liberty, to which they
 pretended, took hold of all occasions to Mortify them.
 In *March* 1738. several Payments of Arrears of the
Gabelles standing out, the Farmers Petition'd the
 Council with more warmth than was agreeable to
 them. When they came out of the Chancellor's
 House they met *Cornuel*, Intendant of the Finances,
 they fell upon him with Reproaches, and forc'd him
 to get as fast as he cou'd into the Superintendent's

House to be deliver'd from their Persecutions. Three of the Farmers, *Bourges*, *Chenu* and *Cervais* were sent to the *Bastille*, the rest Petition'd the Parliament, and were told the Chambers wou'd consider the Matter, but when the Great Chamber met to deliberate it according to Custom, the First President shew'd them a Letter from the King, forbidding them to take Cognizance of that Matter. This Letter was debated, and the next Day *Gaiant* and *Champrond*, Presidents of the Inquests, were order'd to confine themselves to their Houses; *Bouillon*, another President, was confin'd at *Tours*. *Salo*, *Sevin*, *Thebeuf* and *Bouville*, Counsellors, had Orders to go to *Tours*, *Amboise* and *Caen*, where, as soon as they arriv'd, they were imprison'd in the Castles of those Places. By the Laws of *France* before this Reign, no Man cou'd be banish'd *Paris* and shut up in Prisons without a fair Process, but now the King's Orders are Law, and the Members of the Supream Court of Judicature of the Kingdom are thus us'd for asserting their own and the People's Rights.

About this Time the Abbot de *St. Giran* and *Pere Seguenot*, Father of the Oratory, were imprison'd. The Abbot had been an Intimate Friend of *Zamet*, Bishop of *Langres*, to whom, in private Conversation, he had often freely talk'd against certain Tenets of the *Romish* Church, especially the Degrees of the Council of *Trent*. *Zamet*, to ingratiate himself with Father *Joseph*, basely betray'd that Conversation to him, and he told it to *Richlieu*, who hating *St. Giran* for his asserting the Validity of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Marriage, caus'd him to be apprehended and imprison'd in the Castle of *Vincennes*. *St. Giran* was a great Friend of *Jansenius*, Bishop of *Ypres*, and a Zealous Propagator of the Doctrine of *St. Austin*, with respect to Grace and Predestination. Father *Seguenot*'s Crime was his alledging that the Vow of Virginity was not so acceptable to God as a Voluntary Celibacy. This offended all the Monks, and they never left off persecuting him till they got him thrown into the *Bastille*.

I have already made mention of the Dutchess of *En-
raine's* Reception at *Paris*, where she liv'd rather like a
Prisoner than a Guest; growing weary of the Restraint
she was in, she often express'd her Resentment, and
that tempted a Fellow to make a Proposal to her to
rid her of her Enemy, the Cardinal *de Richlieu*. She
found a Note in her Chamber without a Name to
it which offer'd for 1000 Pistoles to Murder the Car-
dinal. The Dutchess shew'd it to *Richlieu*, who ha-
ving return'd her his Thanks, said, *If you please,
Madam, Answer that you have not so much Money,
but if 300 Crowns wou'd suffice, you wou'd borrow
so much upon your Jewels provided you lik'd the Pro-
posal.* This Answer was convey'd to the Man accord-
ing as he had appointed, and a few Days after the
Dutchess found another Billet in her Chamber, in-
sinuating that if she wou'd convey the 300 Crowns to
him by the same way, a House shou'd be hir'd over
against the Cardinal's Palace, from whence he shou'd
be shot in his Coach. The Cardinal having Notice
from time to time of this Matter, sent 300 Crowns,
and caus'd them to be put under a Stone in a Field
near *St. Denis*, as was directed by the Billet, ordering
Seven or Eight Stout Fellows to lie in wait for the
Man who came to fetch the Money. The Man
defending himself very courageously, kill'd Three of
the Cardinal's Men and was taken desperately wound-
ed. Commissaries were presently sent to examine
him in Prison, the Man said he did it only to cheat
the Dutchess of the Money, as one might see by the
impracticableness of the Attempt. The Commissa-
ries, all the Cardinal's Creatures, were not satis-
fy'd with this Answer; the Prisoner wounded, as
he was, receiv'd Sentence to be Broken on the Wheel;
he was carry'd in his Bed to the Place of Execution,
and had Eleven Blows of the Bar before he dy'd.
The Cardinal, says *Grotius*, in a Letter to the Chan-
cellor *Oxenstiern*, hoping by this great Severity to
hinder the doing or promising to do the like Enterprizes
for the future. The Revengeful Cardinal did not
give over soliciting the Dutchess of *Savoy* to part
with her Confessor Father *Monod*, and at last got

the King to threaten to abandon his Sister if she did not remove him; *Christina* being afraid of the *Spaniards* and her Brothers-in-Law the Princes of *Savoy*, was forc'd to content the King, but she wou'd not send *Monod* to *Chamberi* or *Nice*, which the Cardinal insisted upon because he had been expos'd in those Two Places to *Richlieu's* Vengeance, which stuck at nothing when he cou'd get his Enemies in his Power. She confin'd her Confessor to *Coni*, and the Cardinal seeing he cou'd get no more of her, seem'd to be well enough pleas'd with that.

The Solemn Dedication of the Kingdom of *France* to the Blessed Virgin this Year, is an Event worth taking Notice of. *Grotius* gives the best Account of it in another Letter to the Chancellor of *Sweden* as follows :

THE King has consecrated both his Person and his Kingdom to the Blessed Virgin, he did it in the beginning of the Year, not doubting but the Prosperities of the following Campaign wou'd be an effect of his Vow; he erected an Altar in the Cathedral of this City, which cost 400000 Livres, and resolv'd to Celebrate the Feast of the Assumption with more than ordinary Solemnity. In order to this, he sent his Letters Parents to the Parliament. Let us leave to those Magistrates the Care of examining whether the Consecration of the Crown of France to a She Saint agrees well with the Salick Law. I am in Pain only about one Thing, if it shou'd happen, as there is great likelihood, that by Virtue of this new Right to France, the Virgin shou'd Name the Cardinal de *Richlieu* her Vicar General, and give him Power to act in her Name. What will the King have left? The Obligation to pay an entire Obedience to his Minister.

There fell out an Accident at this Consecration in the Cathedral of *Paris*, which turn'd the Festival to a Farce. In the Processions where the Sovereign Courts appear, the Parliament take the Right

Right, and the Chamber of Accounts the Left, so that the Two first Presidents of both Companies march in Front. In the Church, the Parliament takes the Canons Seats on the Right, and the Chamber of Accounts sit on the Left over against them; when the Two Companies were going out of the Choir, the First President of the Chamber of Accounts would go immediately after the First President of the Parliament, but the Presidents *au Mortier* would let no body go between them and their first President, but the Governor of *Paris*. Accordingly they stoppt the First President of the Chamber of Accounts, upon which the Two Companies jostled one another and fell to Blows, which occasion'd a great Disorder in the Church. The Duke de *Montbazon*, Governor of *Paris*, his Officers and others, laid their Hands on their Swords to keep the Peace; the grave Magistrates had recourse to their Natural Weapon the Pen, several Writings appear'd against each other, several Informations were taken of the Fact, which the King put a stop to by taking on himself to regulate so Important a Business.

We are now come to that Great Period, the Birth of the present King of *France*, who was Born the 5th of *September* 1638, N. S. I shall not trouble the Reader with the flattering Letters that pass between the Cardinal de *Richlieu* and the *French* King and Queen on this Occasion, contenting myself with that of Monsieur de *Rassompierre* to the Bishop of *Grenoble*, mention'd in the *Cologne* Edition of that Mareschal's Memoirs, and is thus Translated by Dr. *Wellwood*.

My Lord,

IN my last, I gave you the good News of the Queen's being brought to Bed of a Dauphin; all I have to tell you at present is, That Her Majesty recovers every Day, and the Child is Strong and Lusty, and seems to promise a long Life. There is one Thing of him that is taken much Notice of by some, that his Gums have Teeth pointing out already, and there is scarce a Woman that can suffer him to Suckle her, for he Sucks so eagerly that he brings Blood with his Milk, and upon this account he has had Two Nurses chang'd already. I pray God this may not be an ill Omen to France; We need Princes of a healing and mild Temper, Corrosives not agreeing with the Good of this Monarchy. The Prince is to be nam'd LEWIS DIEU DONNE, Given of God, as his Majesty was pleas'd Yesterday to declare in Council.

What the Learn'd Grotius writes to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, is of more Authority. *Delphinus jam ter mutavit nutricem. Fugiant eum conquesta ad hoc femina, quod vera earum moriendo lancinet non sine Omine futura rapacitatis. Faveant Viciniam matura rapacitate.* The Dauphin did not only hurt the Breasts of his Nurses, he tore them by his biteings. Let the Neighbours of France beware, and arm themselves against so prompt a Veracity. The French were so over-joy'd at the Birth of the Dauphin, that they did not trouble themselves about their Armies Abroad. Both in Italy and on the Frontiers of Spain they were unsuccessful. The Spaniards took Verceil in Savoy, and the Prince of Conde and the Duke de la Vallette were driven from before Fonterabia. The Prince laid the Fault on the Duke, and the Duke on the Prince. Conde had the better Interest, and la Vallette, whom the Cardinal hated, was condemn'd to lose his Head; to avoid which he Fled to England where the Dutchess de

Che.

Chevreuse was arriv'd before him, and *Mary de Medicis* coming soon after was far from being welcome to the People, however she was in Appearance so to the Court. She was lodg'd at *St. James's*, where her Court look'd something more like a Queen than she had seen one in many Years. The Duke de la *Valette*, the Duke de *Soubize*, the Dutchess de *Chevreuse* and other Persons of Quality were of it. *Bellievre*, the French Ambassador, had Orders not to pay any Civilities to *Mary de Medicis*, and to avoid seeing her as much as he cou'd. *Rich-lieu*, to be reveng'd of *Charles I.* for giving her Reception, enter'd into a Correspondence with the *Malecontents* of Scotland. *David Lesley* offer'd to form an Army of 30000 Men in that Kingdom if he was but supply'd with 50000 Crowns, the Cardinal offer'd him 100000; and 'tis thought *Lesley* had that Money from France when the Troubles commenc'd in Scotland.

Bellievre, the French Ambassador at London, according to the Instructions he receiv'd from France, did his utmost to avoid meeting with *Mary de Medicis*, but the Earl of *Holland* knowing the Queen was coming to *White Hall*, kept him one Day in Discourse till she enter'd the Room, accompany'd with King *Charles* and Queen *Henrietta Maria*. My Lord Ambassador, said the Queen Mother, *I wou'd willingly speak with you a little*. The King and Queen of England went aside, and the Earl of *Holland* withdrew. *Bellievre* cou'd not handsomly refuse to hear her, but attended with a great deal of Respect to what she said, *I have, for some time, says she, try'd several means to let Monsieur the Cardinal know what an extream Passion I have to return to France by his Procurement, but all my Advances have been to no purpose, I can receive no Answer.* *Bellievre* reply'd, *Madam I most humbly beg your Majesty to permit me to represent to you, that tho' I have the Honour to be the King's Minister in this Court, it does not give me the same Character with you, perhaps your Majesty designs to give me some Commission in Charge. In such a case, I desire, before hand, you wou'd excuse*

me ; I have positive Orders not to meddle in any wise with what concerns Your Majesty's Person or Affairs. Mary de Medicis answer'd, You are not forbidden to hear what I have to say ; I own it Madam, said Bellievre, but since I have no Orders to do it, that's enough to oblige me to desire you to dispense with my obeying you, if you order me to write any thing to the King my Master. 'Tis no Matter, reply'd the Queen Mother, Hear me. The Pains and Troubles I have endur'd since my Retreat into the Low Countries, have inspir'd me with Sentiments very different from those I had when I left Compeigne. I beg you to let Monsieur the Cardinal know that I conjure him to deliver me out of the Misery I am in, and the Necessity of begging Bread of my Sons-in-Law. I wou'd willingly return to the King my Son, not that I have any Thoughts of concerning my self with the Government of his Kingdom. I aim at nothing but to spend the remainder of my Days in quiet, and to prepare my self for Death. If Monsieur the Cardinal cannot obtain the King's Permission for my Return to Court, let him at least demand it for my residing in some City of the Kingdom, to enjoy there my Revenues. I offer to turn off all my Servants that are odious to or suspected by the King, and to do whatever he wou'd have me. His Orders and the Cardinal's good Council shall be the only Rule of my Conduct. This is all I desire you to let him know from me, I am afraid those whom I have formerly address'd to have either wanted Courage or Inclination to execute the Commission I have charg'd 'em with. Bellievre answer'd, Your Majesty has no Reason to complain of me ; 'tis with extream Regret that I protest I cannot serve you on this Occasion. This is the usual Stile of Ambassadors, replies Mary de Medicis, They excuse themselves from accepting certain Commissions, and yet they write what has been told them : I knew several Instances during my Regency. She then turn'd to the King and Queen of Great Britain, in whose Presence Bellievre repeated what he had said, with respect to his not charging himself with any Commission. You, without doubt, remember, says he, applying himself to the Queen Henrietta Maria, That you have order'd me to write
in

in your Name in favour of the Queen Mother, and I have always desir'd your Majesty to excuse me on account of the positive Orders I have not to concern my self with any Affair, the Cognizance of which the King my Master reserves to himself. The Queen of England reply'd, 'Tis true, but since the King my Brother will receive no Intercession as to what regards the Queen my Mother, the King my Husband, and I, thought the only way the Queen my Mother had left was to explain her self immediately to the King my Brother's Ministers in all the Courts she comes to. There is no instance of a Princess reduc'd to so miserable a Condition by a Son, to please a Minister for whom he at the Bottom had no great Affection. He fear'd Richlieu, but did not Love him, and out of Complacency to one to whom he had no Obligation but for making his Subjects Slaves, he lets the only Person in the World to whom he was bound by the Laws of God to be dutiful, wander up and down without any other maintenance than what she receiv'd from the Generosity of the Kings that had marry'd his Sisters. Her hard Fate drove her to an ill Place when she came to England. The Fears of Popery were almost general, and the Grounds of them the Influence of her Daughter Queen Henrietta Maria over her Husband King Charles I. The People grumbled even at the cheap Reception that was given her, and Report swell'd the Expence to a much greater Sum than it was in King Charles's Power or Inclination to disburse for her.

Bellicore sent Richlieu a particular Account of all that had pass'd between the Queen Mother and him. The Cardinal was inflexible, and made the King write his Mother a Letter full of Reproaches, concluding that if she wou'd not go to Florence, which was the most suitable Place for her, he thought himself discharg'd both in Conscience and Honour from having any regard to her Remonstrances. Richlieu dictated this Letter him-
self

self to Chere his Secretary, and Lewis the first afterwards set his Name to it.

Father Joseph, of whom mention has so often been made, being taken with a Fit of an Apoplexy in December 1638. Richlieu when he was a little recover'd of it invited him to Ruel, where, so wicked did the People think him, 'twas said he forwarded his Death. *Quelques uns ont cru que Richlieu jaloux & inquiet la lu avanca*, says my Author, who however seems not to give Credit to it. Grotius writes on this Occasion in one of his Letters. Richlieu is the only Man that's sorry for Father Joseph, he has lost the great Engine of his Plots and Contrivances. The Capuchine was in hopes a little before his Death to have got a Cardinal's Cap, and the Archbishoprick of Rheimes, which wou'd have made him the First Duke and Peer of France. He proceeds, The English have cause to rejoyce, for Joseph fomented the Commotions in Scotland, making use of another Capuchine his Confident call'd Jacinte. Whether or no Richlieu was really Jealous of him and wish'd him out of the way, he conceal'd his Wishes with his usual Dissimulation. He shed Tears upon Father Joseph's Tomb when a Solemn Service was performing for him. *I have lost my Comfort, my only help*, says he, *my Confident and my Support*. The King, whose Thoughts were always conformable to the Cardinal's, cry'd, *I have lost one of my most Faithful Subjects, and Monsieur the Cardinal his Confident and Intimate Friend*. The Nuns of Calvary, which this Hipocritical Capuchine was the Institutor of, to acquire the Reputation of a Man inspir'd, thought they had lost another Moses. They beg'd his Heart and it was given them, Caspean, Bishop of Lisieux, pronounc'd his Funeral Oration in their Church, holding the Heart in his Hand. Those poor Creatures pray and make Vows to him to this Day, they keep his Cloak as a most Precious Relick, tho' he was, to use the Words of my Author, *Un Franc Scelarat, an Errant Rascal*. The King himself had so good an Opinion

of Father *Joseph* that he look'd upon what he said as Divine Oracles; *Richlieu*, to make his Advantage of his Majesty's Prepossession in Favour of *Joseph*, perswaded *Lewis* to press so extraordinary a Man to write down Maxims for the good Government of his Kingdom. The Capuchine play'd his Part in the Farce very well, he compos'd a little Political Treaty, and presented it to his Majesty. 'Twas entitl'd, *A Discourse of the Unity of the Minister and the Qualities necessary for him*. All his Maxims tended to justify *Richlieu's* Administration, advising him to put all his Authority into his Hands, to hide nothing from him, and to prefer him to those Persons that ought to have been more dear to him. He told him in his Book, that after having once chosen his Minister, for which Post an Ecclesiastick was more proper than any other Person, he shou'd entirely love him and never remove him, that he shou'd load him with Honours and Benefits, give him a Sovereign Power over the People, believe nothing that was said against him, and discover it tho' he had promis'd to keep it Secret. These Maxims were so gross, that *Lewis XIII.* was the only Prince in the World who wou'd not have been prejudic'd by them against both the Author and the Cardinal, for endeavouring to impose upon him after so scandalous a manner; but he contented himself with making no more use of them than he thought fit, which was indeed as much as they cou'd desire, for he continu'd to follow the Measures of the Cardinal and the Capuchine. Father *Jacinte*, Companion and Confident to Father *Joseph*, was in hopes of succeeding him in his Favour at Court: But *Richlieu* had been too often alarm'd by the Capuchine's Intrigues to admit another Priest into his Confidence, so *Jacinte* receiv'd Orders to confine himself to his Convent.

The Mourning that was made for the Death of Father *Joseph* was soon forgotten, and *Richlieu* and the whole Court were full of Joy for the Mar-

Marriage of the Dutcheſs of *Paylaurens* his Couſin to the Count de *Harcourt*. For the Celebration of which there was a moſt Magnificent Ball at the Cardinal's Palace; the ordering of it was left to the Biſhop of *Chartres*, tho' he was one of the Commiſſioners appointed by the Pope for the Reformation of the Manners of the Biſhops. There was an Entertainment of Muſick after the Ball, in which ſeveral Songs were ſung in Praise of Duke *Bernard*, who had lately taken *Briſac*, which Conqueſt the French Court had an Eye upon, and reſolv'd, if they cou'd, to get the Poſſeſſion of it. The Count de *Guebriant*, who commanded the French Army that acted in Conjunction with Duke *Weymar's*, was order'd to negotiate that Matter with him, but *Bernard* answer'd, To demand my Conqueſt of me is like demanding of a Virtuous Girl her Maidenhead, or of a Gallant Man his Honour. However the Duke ſent *Erlach* to *Paris* to treat of certain Affairs, and excuſe his not complying with the King's Demands. *Lemis* did not care to Quarrel with him, and therefore gave way to his Obſtinacy to keep *Briſac*. But *Richlieu* ſo far gain'd over *Erlach*, that he promis'd the Place ſhou'd be deliver'd to the French if Duke *Bernard*, who was not in very good Health, ſhou'd dye. Thus were all the Miniſters and Friends of thoſe Princes the Cardinal correſponded with engag'd and corrupted by him, which contributed not a little to the Succels of his Miſiſtry, with reſpect to Foreign Affairs.

Mary de Medicis had got her Son-in-Law King *Charles I.* to ſend the Lord *Fernyn* to France to make her Peace with the Cardinal. That Lord, notwithstanding all her Submiſſions to a Man whom ſhe had ſo much oblig'd, and who was entirely indebted to her for his Prodigious Fortune, had no better Succels than all her other Mediators had already had. *Richlieu*, ſince the Birth of the Dauphin, having new Reaſons to keep her out of France as long as ſhe liv'd. He knew very well the ill State of his Maſteſty's Health, tho'

it

it was kept from the Publick as much as possible, and flatter'd himself upon *Louis's* Death he might obtain the *Regency*. The best Posts and Places in *France* were in the Possession of his Relations and Creatures. To accustom the People to see him cloath'd with so much Royalty he every Year put the King upon some needless Journey or other to the Frontiers, that he might be Regent in his Absence. The only Persons who cou'd have stood in Competition with him for the *Regency*, besides *Mary de Medicis* was *Anne* of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Orleans* who had neither of them any great Interest, and he did not doubt of preventing their having it, if he cou'd hinder the Return of the Queen Mother, who was of an Intriguing Spirit, had been Regent before, and uniting with her Son and her Daughter-in-Law, might have had no great Difficulty in dispoiling him of his vast Wealth and punishing him exemplarily for his many Acts of Violence and Injustice. The Lord *Fernyn's* Negotiations being to no purpose, the Queen of *England* demanded to come in Person to *France* under pretence of her Health, but in reality to mediate with her Brother in behalf of her Mother. *Richlieu* made the King Answer that he was oblig'd to go to the Frontiers of his Kingdom at that time, and shou'd not have the Pleasure of seeing her. Upon this King *Charles* recall'd the Earl of *Leicester* and the Lord *Scudamore*, his Ambassadors in Ordinary and Extraordinary, and *Richlieu* to hinder his joyning with the House of *Austria* was very Industrious to cut him out Work at Home, which he did effectually by fomenting the *Scottish* Troubles, to which end he had always an Agent among the *Malecontents*.

The Enemies of the Cardinal not only cry'd out that he had a Design upon the *Regency*, but to form a Schism, and to cause himself to be declar'd Patriarch of *France*. This Clamour encreas'd, upon publishing a Book call'd, *Proofs of the Liberties of the Gallican Church*, written by *Peter* and

and *James du Puy* at the Solicitation of some considerable Persons. The Pope's Nuntio and the Monks made a great Noise about it, and *Richlieu* finding that Point was a little too difficult dropt it, and the Cardinal *de la Rochefaucault*, who was a Slave to the Court of *Rome*, assembled several Bishops in his Abbey of *St. Genevieve* in *Paris*, by whom the Book was condemn'd as Schismatical and Heretical. *Grotius* tells us of a long Conference he had with the Prince of *Conde* on this Occasion, in which the Prince was convinc'd, "That the Ecclesiastical Function was a simple Ministry instituted by the Son of God, which ought to be maintain'd by all Sovereigns, that the Abuse of it is disagreeable to God and pernicious to Church and State, that the Sovereign is oblig'd to hinder it since his Principal Duty is to maintain the Observation of the Law of God, to take Care of the Safety of the People and to suppress Injustice." *Grotius* urg'd further, that the Scriptures are the Rule of Faith, with many other things against the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, which the Prince agreed to, and said, that all Men of Sense were of the same Opinion. In the close of this Letter to Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, he says, *This has no Relation to my Embassy, however I thought fit to acquaint you with it that you may know what Men of the first Rank begin to think of these things. Almost all the Magistrates of the Parliament are of the same Principle, and they are look'd upon at Rome as little better than Hereticks.*

We have mention'd the Retreat of the Duke *de la Valette* to England. The Cardinal *de Richlieu* not contented with his having left the Kingdom, caus'd a Process to be commenc'd against him, for that he, as Governor of *Guyenne*, had left the Province without the King's Permission, to lay Siege to *Fontenabia*. The Cardinal continu'd to persecute him, notwithstanding he had marry'd the Dutchess of *Puylaurens's* Sister, and was Brother to his dear Friend the Cardinal *de la Valette*, for his appearing in the Court of *Mary de Medicis*. He could not bear

hear that any body shou'd shew the least Friendship for that unfortunate Princess, nor forgive the Disposition the Duke had to side with *Gaston*, Duke of *Orleans*, against him. The Members of the Parliament who were at his Devotion, were order'd to come to Court to proceed against the Duke de la *Valette*; they came to *St. Germain*, and the King condescended to preside in a Business which *Richieu* carry'd on purely to execute his Revenge on the Son of one of the greatest Lords of *France*. There was one Magistrate *Pinon*, Dean of the Great Chamber, who was very willing to give his Opinion against the Duke de la *Valette*, whom they design'd shou'd be condemn'd unheard.

This Man was the first whose Vote *Lewis* demanded. Sir, says the old Magistrate, I have been a Member of this Court Fifty Years, and never yet met with an Affair of so much Importance, Monsieur the Duke de la *Valette* had the Honour to marry your Majesty's Natural Sister, he is besides a Peer of *France*. I most humbly beseech you to refer this Matter back to the Parliament. *Lewis* interrupting him, cry'd out, Give your Vote, Sir. *Pinon* reply'd coldly, I am of Opinion that the Duke de la *Valette*'s Case be refer'd to the Parliament to Judge it. I will not do it, says the King, this is not voting. *Pinon* modestly answer'd, A Reference is a Lawful Opinion. *Lewis* in great Wrath reply'd, Give your Vote positively, otherwise I shall know what I have to do. This frighten'd him, and several other Magistrates to Vote as the Court wou'd have them; but *Believere*, second President of the Parliament, insisted upon it, that the Case ought to be refer'd back to that Assembly. What he said on this Occasion is very remarkable, There is something very odd in this Matter; a King giving his Opinion in the Criminal Process of one of his Subjects; till now Kings have been wont to reserve Pardons to themselves, and refer the Condemnation of the Guilty to their Officers. Can your Majesty, Sir, be able to bear the sight of a Gentleman here at the Bar, from whence he shou'd go only to the Place of Execution. 'Tis incompatible

ble with Royal Majesty. The Sight of a Prince carries Mercy with it every where, if he enters an interdicted Church, the Censure is immediately taken off according to the Canons, all those that come before the Prince shou'd go away content and joyful. He then represented how pernicious it might be to brow-beat the Judges, and not give them the Liberty of speaking according to their Consciences. Give your Opinion positively, says the King, who heard him patiently. I cannot be of any other, reply'd *Bellevue*, mine is Catholick. The Chancellor was going to speak to the President, who took him up short, If you pretend to give me Instructions here 'tis lost time, I persist in my Sentiments. The Courage of this brave Magistrate so embolden'd some of his Brethren, that they insisted upon it to have the Cause refer'd back to their Assembly. But the King, the Dukes and Peers, the Chancellor and the Cardinal, having given their Votes against the Duke *de la Valette*, he was condemn'd, only Three Days were allow'd him to appear in, after Summons by sound of Trumpet, a matter of meer Form; the Duke was in *England* and cou'd in that time know nothing of the Business. 'Twas pleasant to hear one of the Magistrates *Le Bret* justify the Proceedings against the Duke by the Examples of Processes in *Turkey* and *Persia*. When the pretended Tryal was over, the King call'd the Presidents *de Bellevue*, *de Nesmond*, *le Baileal*, *de Novion*, and said to them, You always disobey me, I am very much dissatisfy'd with you. I hate those that say I cannot form a Process against Dukes and Peers but in Parliament, they are Ignorant and not worthy their Office. I do not know but I may provide my self of others, I will be obey'd, and you shall be made to know that all Privileges are founded on ill Custom, let me hereafter hear no more of 'em. Very good. Here's a frank Declaration of a King, who has the Sirname of *Just*, that all the People's Privileges, and even the Privileges of Parliaments are founded on ill Custom. Why is he so angry, but because Three or Four honest Magistrates wou'd not give their
Vote

Vote for the Condemning a Duke and Peer of France to Death, to gratify the Vengeance of a bloody minded Minister. A French Author writes thus on this subject. "Let us make no Reflections on such a Piece of Tyranny, 'tis enough to expose it; a wretched Flatterer alledges in the Council, and in the Presence of the most Christian King, the Practice of the *Turks*, and pretended that the Example of their *Sultan*, who when he pleases, and without any form of Justice, puts to Death his Viziers and Bassas, shou'd be follow'd by a Prince who takes the Sirname of *Just*, and that he is not bound by establish'd Laws and Customs when the Honour and Life of the Peers of his Kingdom and Officers of his Crown are in Question. This Opinion was applauded and follow'd. What Horror, what Infamy." *Richlieu*, who had been the sole Promoter of this Cruel Process, went out when Sentence was giving, saying, he was related to the Duke de la *Valette*. When the Duke was condemn'd to Death, *Lewis* stay'd Four Hours to hear all the Preparatory Papers read, tho' he had drunk the Waters that Day, and was forc'd to go out to Evacuate. The Magistrates were more complaisant at the Condemnation, than they had been at the Process; only *Bellievre* continu'd in his Integrity, and wou'd not agree to any thing more than Banishment and a Fine. The Duke de la *Rochfaucault* being to give his Vote at the Sentence, follow'd the Example of the pack'd Judges, and gave it for condemning him to Death, tho' at the Process he had declar'd he cou'd not think the Duke de la *Valette* Guilty of Treason and Cowardice, and that there was not sufficient Proof against him. The King made a Speech uncover'd when he gave his Opinion, which was for Death, and accordingly the Duke de la *Valette* was beheaded in Effigie the 8th of June 1639.

The Cardinal de la *Valette* dy'd sometime after in Italy, the Duke de *Candale* was Dead sometime before, and the Duke d' *Epernon*, their Father, importun'd in his old Age, by the Prince of Conde

to resign his Government of *Guyenne* to procure a Pardon for his Son the Duke de la *Valette*. The Post of Colonel General, if he cou'd be prevail'd upon to part with it, was intended for Monsieur *Cing-mars*, a new Favourite, taken by the King upon the Retreat of *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak further in the following Pages.

It will not be disagreeable to the Reader to give an Account of a Quarrel between the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, upon Occasion of the Murder of *Rouvrai*, the Mareschal d' *Etrees's* Gentleman. *Rouvrai* had rescu'd an *Italian*, in whose House he had lodg'd Two of his Whores from the Officers that were conveying him to the Gallies, to which he was condemn'd for keeping an Infamous House. D' *Etrees* was asham'd of the Action, and promis'd to deliver up his Gentleman, but afterwards refus'd it, or to send him to *France*. *Rouvrai* was prosecuted according to Law, and d' *Etrees* retiring in Disgust to *Frescati*, carry'd him along with him. The *French-man* was condemn'd to Death for Contumacy, and a Price set upon his Head as was the Custom in such Cases. When d' *Etrees* return'd to *Rome*, he was advis'd not to bring *Rouvrai* with him; instead of which he brought him, as it were, in Triumph, and to insult the *Barbarini*, the Pope's Nephews, with whom he had a Misunderstanding. As they came along *Rouvrai* was shot Dead from behind a Hedge, his Head cut off and carry'd to the Governor of *Rome*; 'Twas expos'd in Publick: The Hangman carry'd it about, and Proclamation was made that 'twas the Head of the *French* Ambassador's Gentleman; at last it was throw'n into the Place where the Heads of the Banditti and other Capital Criminals are hung. The Mareschal d' *Etrees* sent his Secretary to the Court of *France* for Particular Instructions in this Affair. The King and Cardinal on one hand did not care to come to an open Rupture with the Pope, and on the other they thought themselves oblig'd to support the Ambassador. The Treatment of *Rouvrai's*
Body

Body after he was assassinated, prov'd plain enough that he was murder'd by Order of Cardinal *Francis Barbarini*, the Pope's Favourite Nephew, or his Brother *Don Thadeo*, Prefect of *Rome*, who both hated *d'Etrees*, and the Truth is, the *Barbarinis* own'd afterwards that the Murder cost them 2000 Crowns. *Scoti* the Pope's Nuntio in *France*, being remonstrated to on this subject, answer'd, That they could not without the foulest Calumny attribute so black an Affair to a Cardinal of so known Integrity, and so Angelical a Life. However, Cardinal *Francis's* Revenge was his Master in the Business of *Rouvrai*. And the Mareschal *d'Etrees* had Orders not to have any Audience of the Pope or his Nephew, till *Lewis* had satisfaction for the Indignities put upon his Minister. *Richlieu* was in hopes that the Clergy of *France* who had several Reasons not to be satisfy'd with the Court of *Rome*, wou'd have join'd with him to mortify *Urban*, but *Scoti*, the Pope's Nuntio, by means of the Cardinal *de la Rochefaucault* and other Prelates devoted to the Papal See, disappointed all his Projects, which so irritated *Richlieu*, that he caus'd *Chavigni* to tell the Nuntio, You may write to *Rome*, that the King has so much Right to revenge the Death of *Rouvrai*, was not his Majesty restrain'd by his natural Moderation, that he might send his Officers to insult Monsieur *Scoti* in his House, and perhaps have him cudgel'd on the Pontneuf. The Nuntio reply'd to *Chavigni*, That the Turks durst not threaten the Venitian Minister so, whose Insolence was known to all *Enrope*. The King afterwards sent *Scoti* an Order to abstain from Audience, but he refus'd to receive it, and his Servant flung it into the Master of the Ceremony's Coach, who wou'd have left it in his House. This Reud went so far that they talk'd at the Court of *France* of calling a National Synod, and even a General Council, but 'twas not in *Richlieu's* Power, as great as 'twas, to do either, for there was a Party amongst the *Gallican* Clergy, who stickled hard for the Papal Authority, and that which he headed in Opposition, could not carry their Point.

I have already made some mention of *Madamoiselle de Hautefort*, and *Monsieur de Cinqmars*, the King's Male and Female Favourites. *Hautefort* was encourag'd by the Cardinal to drive the thoughts of *la Fayette* out of the King's Head, but she soon was gain'd over by the Queen, and *Richlieu* resolv'd to punish her and her Confident *Chemeraut* as Ingrates. The Cardinal having such ill success with Women Favourites, thought it his Interest to give the King one of his own Sex in the room of the Duke de *St. Simon*, for *Lewis* must have a Favourite of one Sex or the other. He pitch'd upon *Monsieur de Cinqmars*, the *Mareschal d'Effiat's* Son, in hopes that out of Gratitude for his own and his Father's Elevation he wou'd entirely depend upon him. He was made Master of the Horse by the Demission of the Duke de *Bellegarde*; the King quickly shew'd an Extraordinary Kindness to him, his Amiable Qualities gain'd him his Majesty's good Graces to such a degree, that 'twas not long before *Richlieu* grew jealous of him. Upon the Cardinal de *la Valette's* Death, *Richlieu* sent the King a List of the vacant Benefices, which he had held, to be dispos'd of. A small Abby was all he intended for the new Favourite's Brother; his Majesty was so offended at it, that he tore the Paper, and immediately gave the Abbot d' *Effiat* one of the best Abbeyes the Cardinal de *la Valette* had possess'd. The King design'd the Cap for his Favourite's Brother, and us'd to call him the *Little Cardinal*; all which terribly alarm'd *Richlieu*. He gave *Cinqmars* to understand his Favour came by his means, and he expected another sort of Conduct from him. *Cinqmars* thinking himself sure of the King, defy'd him. *Lewis* bid him not go so fast. I love you as well as you can wish, says he, and I hate the Cardinal mortally; however, if you fall out with him, don't think that I will stand by you against him; I will never injure my Affairs for the sake of any Body whatsoever, they are in such a Posture that I cannot part with my Minister. The King's good Advice was a sure sign that he lov'd *Cinqmars* as well as he said he did,

did, but he was too Vain and too Proud to follow it. His Friends all gave him the same wholesome Counsel, but he wou'd not submit to the Cardinal, and hardly to the King, as will appear by a Letter *Lewis* wrote sometime after to *Richlieu* on the subject of *Cinqmars's* Behaviour. *I am sorry to importune you about Monsieur Le Grand's ill Humours. At his return from Ruel he gave me the Pacquet you sent me.* Monsieur the Cardinal, said I to him, tells me you have declar'd a great Readiness to please me in every thing; however, you do not do it in a thing I desir'd him to speak to you about. *He said something of it,* reply'd he, *but I cannot do otherwise, nor be more Laborious than I have been;* I was troubled at his Discourse, and told him, Idleness does not become a Man of a Condition, who ought to Qualify himself for the Command of Armies, adding, you have declar'd to me often that that was your Design. *I don't aim so high,* says he very briskly, I am satisfy'd to the contrary, said I, and wou'd not push that any farther; then returning to the Article of Laziness, *I told him,* 'Twas a Vice that render'd a Man incapable of any Thing that's good. Let the People of the *Marsh*, (a quarter of Paris so call'd where was the *Hotel d'Effiat*) give themselves up entirely to Pleasure, you was bred among them; if you resolve to continue that way of living you had e'en as good go and live with 'em again. *With all my Heart,* says he very arrogantly. I made answer, If I was not wiser than you, I know what I shou'd reply to you, ought you to talk after this Rate to a Master who has done so much for you? Our Spark answer'd me after his usual Custom, *I don't value what you have done for me, I can easily be without it, and can as willingly be Cinqmars as Monsieur Le Grand. In short, I cannot live otherwise, and will not alter.* We continu'd wording of it till we came to the Court of the Castle. If you are of that Humour, said I, you will please me if you do not come into my Presence. *He reply'd,* What you will, Sir. And I have not seen him since. All this past, *Gordes* being by, to whom

I read what I write you, and he justifies it to be all True.

This Arrogant Dialogue between *Cinqmars* and his Master happen'd before *Richlieu* fell out with *Le Grand*, as he was call'd also on Account of his Office, and he endeavour'd, or pretended to endeavour, to keep them Friends. This Dispute was refer'd by both *Lewis* and his Favourite to the Cardinal. *Cinqmars* wrote this to him about it.

My Lord,

I Am in extream Confusion to think that your Eminence shou'd have a continual din in your Ears of Complaints against me. There must be some End or other put to it. Rather than have recourse to a long and useless Justification, I will own my self Guilty tho' I do not know my fault. By this, my Lord, I demand of your Eminence that you will no longer hearken to your Goodness for me, but preferring your Repose to my Advantage, wou'd think of this Matter as the King's Anger wou'd have you. I wou'd not have your Eminence look upon it as a fall'y of Passion which I may repent of. I have seriously consider'd every thing, and protest I am not afraid of the Consequence, provided the King does not take an Aversion to me, and will remember that I shall be eternally his most humble Servant.

To *Des Noyers*, Secretary of State, he wrote as follows:

THE Extremity to which you see me reduc'd, may make you judge the Condition I am in. I conjure you by all the Friendship you ever had for me, to consent that there may be an end of the miserable Life I lead. Consult with his Eminence what is to be done to get me out of it, and prevent the King's persecuting me with his Aversion. That's all I demand, all I desire.

The

The young Rake wou'd not have his Master believe he cou'd or wou'd turn his Head to Business, he wou'd be Belov'd on his own Terms, or not at all. 'Tis not likely such a Lazy Thoughtless Creature shou'd long maintain himself, when the Minister was as much against him, as he was at first for him.

Towards the latter end of the Year 1639, the Normans took Arms to defend themselves against the insufferable Violence of the Tax-Gatherers. Richlieu's Ministry was become so generally Odious, that the Parliament of *Roan* and the Gentlemen of *Normandy* wink'd at this Insurrection, in hopes it wou'd embarrass him. During the Campaign, the Court was also forc'd to let the pretended Rebels alone; but after 'twas over, *Seguier*, the Chancellor, was sent to *Normandy* with Collonel *Gassion* and his Regiment, to destroy those Miserable Wretches, whom the Taxes had impoverish'd. The Chancellor's Commission was executed as *Jefferys* executed his in the West of *England*, and *Gassion* seconded him as *Kirk* did *Jefferys*. As soon as he came with his Soldiers to *Roan*, he interdicted the Parliament and Courts of Justice, revok'd the Privileges of the City, and Confiscated the Revenues; after that he condemn'd several Citizens and others to the Gibbet and Wheel, and caus'd so general a Terror thro' the whole Province of *Normandy*, that a great Number of the Inhabitants fled to *England* and the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*. He order'd the Walls of some Towns to be raz'd, and every where were to be seen the Bloody marks of his Power. This Chancellor of *France*, this Protector of the *French* Academy, to whom that Society rais'd so many Altars of Flattery being one of the most cruel and slavish Ministers that ever acted under a Tyranny so intollerable as was that of *Richlieu's*. Having made some mention of the War between *France* and *Spain*, and Difficulties the Cardinal met with in carrying it on, I shall now take notice of some Secret Steps towards a Peace in the Year 1640, when the Arms of *France* had not all the Success that was expected. The Court being at *Soissons*

sons, Richlieu went to *Blerancourt* under pretence of making a Visit to the Marquis de *Tremes's* Brother, where was *Breth*, Agent of the Low-Countries at the Court of *Madrid*, whom the Count Duke d'*Olivarez*, the King of *Spain's* Prime Minister, had order'd to confer privately with the Cardinal Duke de *Richlieu* upon some Proposals of Peace between the two Crowns. *Breth* demanded as Preliminaries, That *Lorraine* shou'd be restor'd to the Duke, *Brisac* to the Emperor, and what the Dutch had taken in *Brasil* to the Spainards. The Cardinal rejected these Demands, and ask'd *Breth* if he had no Power to enter into a Negotiation on other Propositions, the *Flemand* declaring he had not, *Richlieu* told him that the King's Pretensions to *Lorraine* were so just, the Catholick King ought to support his Majesty in them; adding further, He shou'd be glad that the exemplary Punishment of the Duke of *Lorraine*, wou'd teach all little Princes, that they shall not with Impunity offend a Puissant Crown. Here's *Richlieu* that good Priest's excellent Reasoning and Divinity: For God's Sake are not little Princes as much Princes as great? Must they they lose their Rights and Possessions because great Princes have taken Offence? Must not the French King be put out of Humour but at the Expence of two or three Dutchies?

On the 21st of September, this Year 1640, was Born *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*; upon the Death of his Uncle *Gaston*, made Duke of *Orleans* by his Brother *Lewis* the XIVth. The Prince of *Conde* was then holding an Assembly of the States of *Languedoc*, and tho' the Birth of another Prince made his Succession to the Crown more distant, yet he had so well learn'd the Art of Flattery, that he could not help shewing it in this Extraordinary manner to the Assembly. "The taking of *Arras* and *Turin*, is not equal to the happiness of having another Son born to our King; it secures the State like a Pillar of perpetual security against all ill Events. We cannot doubt of the good Success of the Publick Affairs. Good Fortune and the King's

"King's Valour, the Miraculous Conduct of Monsieur the Cardinal gives us continual Assurances of it, and that nothing is impossible under such Divine, such Happy, such Prudent, and such Courageous Directions." This Speech is made by the first Prince of the Blood in *France*, and is not out done by the most Impertinent of all *Richlieu's* Flatterers.

The *Catalans* and *Portuguese* having thrown off the *Spanish* Yoke, were both assisted by the *French*. So far have the latter been from encouraging Passive Obedience in the Subjects of their Neighbouring Princes. But the Joy of this Embarrass given to the Affairs of *Spain*, was not so transporting to the Cardinal, as that of marrying his Neice, the *Mareschal de Breze's* Daughter, to the Duke d' *Enghien* afterwards the famous Prince of *Conde*. The expence of one Entertainment at the Celebrating of these Nuptials cost the Proud Priest a Million. *Enghien* was forc'd by his Father to marry this Woman. A match so Scandalous to a Prince of his Birth, that 'twas thought he wou'd never have comply'd with it, and it is said *Enghien* was bully'd into by it by the Cardinal; for coming to tell him he was engag'd to another, and seeing *Richlieu* whisper to the Captain of his Guards, he was afraid of being Arrested, and instead of rejecting her, told *Richlieu* he was come to thank him for the Honour he did him in offering him his Neice. The Cardinal took him at his Word, and the Articles were sign'd immediately. The Prince of *Conde*, the Duke's Father, whom the Cardinal supported in plundering the Provinces by raising Money of the States, under the notion of Free Gifts, was very earnest for the Marriage, as may be seen by a Letter he wrote to the Cardinal some time before You know that I desire but one thing in all the World, which is to place what is most dear to me in your House. I hope you will continue to love me, 'tis my only happiness. Again, I have no Design, and but one Preference in the World, which is to enter into your Alliance. Thus does one of the first Princes of the House

House of *Bourbon* court a Priest, who by the weakness of his Master is become a Terror to the Royal Family it self. 'Tis said that *Engbien* in the fright the Cardinal's whispering to the Captain of his Guards put him into, fell upon his Knees to demand his Neice in Marriage. He was charg'd with it in Parliament, but the Prince gave the Person that said it the Lye. *Richlieu* passionately desir'd the Marriage of his Niece with the Duke d' *Engbien* in hopes that it wou'd be an Addition to his Interest in carrying his Ambitious Project of the Regency, which was never out of his Head, but it was not without great Anxiety of Mind, that he saw the Count de *Soissons*, the Duke de *Bouillon*, and the Duke de *Guise* in a strict Union at *Sedan*. There were several other discontented Dukes, as *Vendome*, *Epernon*, de la *Valette*, and several great Lords in *France* that shew'd a Disposition to joyn in with any Party against him.

The Cardinal cry'd out, That *Sedan* was as bad as *Rochelle*, that in good Policy it ought not to be endur'd, and that the King was positively resolv'd to have an end of those Caballings. About this time a Gentleman dispatch'd by the Duke de *Soubize* in *England*, with Letters to his Friends in *France*, was seiz'd in *Normandy* and sent to the *Bastille*. He confess'd at his Examination that the Count de *Soissons* held Correspondence with *Soubize*, of rather *Richlieu* to blacken the Count and render him more Odious to the King got him to confess it, and then represented the Matter to *Lewis* as maliciously as his Fraud and Hatred cou'd make it. The Count complain'd of the Falshood of the Calumny, and sent his Confidential *Campion* with Letters to the King and Cardinal in his own Vindication. *Campion* found the King very much set against *Soissons*. He gave his Majesty the Letter, and spoke in behalf of his Master. *Monseur the Count* says the King, Does very well to Vindicate himself, but he does it a little too late, why did he not write to me sooner. *Campion* reply'd with a great deal of warmth, That
he

he wou'd answer with his Head for his Master's Innocence. Lewis pardon'd his Zeal and said, I will consider what's to be done and write to the Count. *Campion*, was to go from him to the Cardinal at *Ruel*. Lewis took Care to give *Richlieu* Notice of every thing that pass'd, and when *Campion* had deliver'd the Cardinal the Count's Letter, *Richlieu* said, I am sorry the Accusation against Monsieur the Count is so strong; the Depositions are so clear, and so certain, that he will find a hard Matter to refute them. Then he order'd *des Noyers*, Secretary of State, to read them. Ah Sir, reply'd *Campion*, Cannot one make a Wretch in the Bastille say what he pleases? He will not dare to assert before upright Judges, that Monsieur the Count holds Intelligence with the Duke *Soubrize* and *de la Valette* whom he hates. 'Tis a plain Calumny which the Count can easily disprove! Good God, what Times do we live in? the Man of the most Honour in the World will not hereafter be safe from the Malice of his Enemies. *Richlieu* reply'd very coldly, I am Monsieur the Counts most humble Servant, and wou'd feign believe him Innocent; assure him from me that 'tis not my Fault the King does not think him so. Several Letters pass'd between the Count and the Court on this Occasion. The former rather than lie under this Scandal, demanded the Affair shou'd be brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, the Cardinal knowing what Artifices had been us'd to procure the Depositions against the Count chose rather to let the King make as if he believ'd *Soissons* innocent.

We have mention'd the Duke *de Guise's* being at *Sedan*, where the Count *de Soissons* and the Duke *de Bouillon* enter'd into an Agreement to support each others Interest, and to endeavour the Ruin of *Richlieu*. Both of them sign'd it, so did the Duke *de Guise*; it was sent to the Emperor and the Cardinal *Infant*, Governor of the *Low Countries*, who promis'd to assist them with 7000 Men each. *Bouillon* fortify'd *Sedan*, and rais'd Men in the Country of *Liege*, the Spaniards engaging to supply the Duke with 200000 Crowns for those Levies. But as
their

their Custom was, fell short of their Promises which more than once spoil'd a very good Design form'd against Richlieu's Tyranny. Richlieu to find out the bottom of the Intrigues of the Princes at Sedan, endeavour'd to engage the famous Colonel Gassion to act the Part of a Spy. Gassion was in his Winter Quarters on those Frontiers, he had devoted himself to the Service of the Cardinal, who therefore believ'd he might engage him to do any thing, and in this Belief wrote him the following Letter.

IN all Times of Peace your Company will be desir'd here; the King who wou'd have you with his Armies when they are upon Action, wou'd not deprive you of the Pleasure which the common Repose brings with it. I have told you what his Design was, come and tell him what you think of it, your Journey shall not be unprofitable; if there are Favours to be dispens'd with I will give you my Word, you shall not be forgotten; your Presence may create such Thoughts as do not arise but upon sight of the Objects. In a Word, you shall be as well satisfy'd with the Court as they are with you.

Gassion who had talk'd somewhat freely of the Cardinal's well-belov'd Cousin the Marechal de la Meilleraie, suspected there was something more than ordinary in Richlieu's wonderful Courtship, and wou'd not stir till he was convinc'd that it was not a Snare. Richlieu wrote him a longer and more pressing Letter, upon which Gassion hasten'd to Ruel. After some general Compliments, the Secretary des Noyers began to Sift him. Dear Friend, said he, The State and Fortune are at work for you, give your self up entirely to Monsieur the Cardinal, approve without examining Things of whatever he shall propose to you. What the Mas, replies Gassion, who was a Protestant? No No says the Secretary, There's no Talk of that now, 'Tis Faith Humane, that's requir'd of you. Des Noyers

Noyers introduc'd him then to the Cardinal, saying, My Lord, Here's a Gallant Man, on whose Bravery and Fidelity your Eminence may depend. I wish for nothing more, replys Richlieu, and having Sworn him to Secrecy he went on. I have Enemies Monsieur de Gassion, you know them and they know you, they will do their utmost to engage you on their Side against me, and involve you under false Pretences in the Desigus they are forming against the King and the State. I shou'd be in Despair to see you embrace an Unfortunate and Criminal Party; I thought fit to give you Warning that you might not fall into their Snarcs. God forbid I shou'd see a Man I Love so well ruin'd by them. Be plain with me, are you free, tell me truly, can you engage your self wholly to me? My Lord, says Gassion, I am perfectly devoted to your Eminence, since I am so Happy as to have found so good a Master, I Swear upon Honour I will never have another, and your Eminence may command me to do whatever you please, I will venture my Life to oblige you. There's nothing also, reply'd the Cardinal, that I will not do to serve you. Richlieu pull'd a Ring of great Price off his Finger, and gave it the Collonel. Adding, They are only Trifles, you shall see how I Love my Friends when they are Men of Merit. The Cardinal said no more at that time, and Berge, Gassion's Brother, endeavouring to dissuade him from giving himself up so entirely to a Minister odious to all France. Do not talk to me, replys the Collonel, The Business is done, I am Monsieur the Cardinal's, Nor God nor the Devil shall hinder it. A rare Protestant this. However when the Cardinal came to make the Proposal of his pretending to side with the Princes at Sedan, on purpose to betray them, Gassion was, as it were, struck Dumb with Horror of the baseness of this First and Sovereign Minister of France. After he had been Silent some time and had been reproach'd by Richlieu for receiving the Proposition so coldly, he recover'd himself and said, My Lord, depend upon it my Life and Death are at your Service, but let me serve you without Intrigue and without Treachery. I will give you a good Account
of

of your Enemies, but I wou'd have them mine also. Richlieu answer'd, The King will be serv'd in his own way, and has wherewithal to recompence those that serve him. Des Noyers fell upon him afterwards, and Gassion reply'd, No Treachery Sir, fair War I am for. As to my Life and Death they are not my own, I have sacrific'd every thing to Monsieur the Cardinal. One wou'd think the Cardinal shou'd have been confounded, to have met with a Colonel of the Army who abhor'd a thing he had propos'd to him, to find a Soldier receive with Indignation a base Proposal made by a Priest. But the Quality of the Minister solv'd all and the Preservation of the Ministry, like the good of the Church, justifies all Wickedness where the Richlieu's prevail. The Cardinal told him at last, You will not so soon advance your Fortune, but you will at least preserve my Esteem. He also gave him 2000 Crowns for fear he shou'd Tattle of it. This way of corrupting Officers he often attempted, and with more Success than in the Affair of Gassion. Another instance of which was his courting the Baron de Sirot, after he had a long while neglected him. His Creature des Noyers, Secretary of State, introduc'd the Baron, who thank'd his Eminence for the Honour he did him to number him among his Servants. I heartily desire you to be my Friend, says Richlieu, and as a Proof that I am yours, I will give you a Pension of 10000 Crowns, and make your Fortune. The Baron reply'd, Your Eminence's too great Goodness confounds me, I am at your Command entirely, and shall be to the last Day of my Life, your most Humble Servant. At these words the Cardinal embrac'd and kiss'd him, saying, He depended on his Word.

Richlieu being apprehensive that Caesar, Duke of Vendome, the King's Natural Brother, held Intelligence with the Princes at Sedan, resolv'd to have his Person seiz'd, or to force him to leave the Kingdom. In order to this, he got a couple of Rascals out of the Goal of Vendome to inform against the Duke, as if he wou'd have hir'd them to Assassinate the Cardinal. Caesar hearing of the Ministers Proceedings, sent the Dutchess his Wife and his Two

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Sons, the Dukes de *Mercaur* and *de Beaufort*, to desire that he might come and declare his Innocence to the King and Cardinal, and that they would not hearken to the Accusation of such infamous Rogues. *Richlieu* took him at his word, and the King sent him Orders to appear, but *Vendome* repenting of that Offer, came to a Resolution to leave *France* rather than expose himself to the Danger of so long and so hard an Imprisonment as he had already endur'd at the instigation of the Cardinal; and fearing he should be poison'd at *Vincennes* or the *Bastille*, as his Brother the Grand Prior was, he chose to follow the Duke de *la Vallette's* Example, and made his Escape to *England*, not thinking himself oblig'd to keep his Word given rashly, says my Author, to a Prince govern'd by the most perfidious and most revengeful Man in the World. As soon as News came that he was gone, a Commission was immediately issu'd out to form a Process against him. His Wife and Children were banish'd to *Touraine*, Judges were nam'd to try *Cesar* in his Absence, *Lewis* the first taking on himself the Office of President of the Court, compos'd of the Duke de *Ventadour*, the Duke de *Uzes*, the Duke de *Luynes*, and the Duke de *Chaulnes*, the *Mareschals de la Force* and de *Charillon*, *Monfieur de Cinqmars*, the Favourite, the Chancellor *Seguier* and others. When the Court was sat the Chancellor made a Speech to them, which he concluded with this Remarkable Circumstance, That when *Monfieur de Vendome* went to wait upon the Queen Mother at *London*, he spoke to her thus, See, Madam, a poor banish'd Man accus'd of an Attempt which he had rather had been executed than talk'd of. 'Tis true, says the King, I have a Letter of it. Just as the Court, all prepar'd before hand, was about to give Sentence, a Man brought a Letter to the Chancellor who open'd it and read it, and then going up to the King, whisper'd something to him. *Lewis* rose and commanded the rest to keep their Places. The King, the Chancellor, the Superintendent of the Finances, and *des Noyers*, the Secretary, talk'd together in the corner of the Room with a great deal of Action, as if they were perswading him

him to somewhat he did not like. When his Majesty took his Place again, he said Gentlemen, The Cardinal begs me to Pardon Monsieur de Vendome, I am not for it, I ought to Protect those that serve me with the Affection and Fidelity that Monsieur the Cardinal does. If I don't take care to punish all Attempts against his Person, where shall I find Ministers to manage my Affairs with the same Courage and Faithfulness; I have propos'd an Expedient to the Chancellor, which is to take that Matter to my self, and suspend the Definitive Judgment: According as the Duke de Vendome behaves himself, I shall Pardon or Condemn him. "Poor Prince," adds my Author, Does he not see how they play upon him, and how grossly they "abuse his Simplicity." Could he imagine that so many Lords and Lawyers as were there did not perceive that Richlieu and his Creatures were laying all the Odium of his Unnatural Treatment of his Brother for the sake of his Minister on himself. Sure some Ministers do not think Subjects have Brains, or indeed Eyes, and that they can command their Senses and their Understandings as well as their Persons.

Mention has been made of the seizing the Duke of Lorraine's Territories by Lewis the Just; Duke Charles had ever since liv'd a wandering Life, very ill supported by the Germans and Spaniards. He had a Mistress, which in that Country they call *Femme de Campagne*, who hop'd if she cou'd prevail on the Duke to submit to whatever Condition France shou'd impose on him, Lewis wou'd order his Minister at Rome to sollicite the Dissolution of his Marriage with the Dutcheß *Nicole*, that he might marry her. Duke Charles having begun a Secret Negotiation, *Cantecroix* his Mistress perswaded him, that if he went in Person to the Court of France he wou'd obtain better Terms. Accordingly he arriv'd at Paris in March 1641, and was receiv'd with great Marks of Distinction; when he had his first Audience of the King, he fell thrice upon his Knees, and humbly demanded Pardon. *Cousin*, says his Majesty, All that's past is forgot, I shall now think of nothing but to give you Tokens of my Friend-

Friendship. He then went to Compliment the Queen, and *Lewis* conducted him to the Apartment of the Dauphin and Duke of *Anjou*; but Duke *Charles* soon saw that all the Caresses he met with were nothing but Dissimulation and Grimace, The Treaty he was to sign was prepar'd for him. The very first words of it shew'd the Hardships put upon him were such as cou'd not but be grating to a Man of Honour. *Lewis* is the Just by this Treaty, took away a great part of the Duke's Territories, to which he had no manner of Right, and oblig'd him at all times to joyn his Arms with his, against all Princes and States whatsoever, as his Majesty shou'd require. Yet see the Preamble of the Treaty, where will be seen how wicked Ministers make weak Princes, prevaricate both with God and Man. Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* having several times declar'd to the King his true Repentance for his ill Conduct these last Ten or Twelve Years towards his Majesty, and being come in Person to beseech his Majesty to forgive and pardon whatever Despair has made him say or do in Prejudice of the Respect he acknowledges that he owes the King, and the Assurances he has given to be for the future inseparable from all the Interests of this Crown, have so touch'd his Majesty that he readily gave way to those Christian Sentiments and those motions of Grace which it pleas'd God to give him on this subject. In which Consideration as he prays the Divine Goodness to Pardon him his Offences, so he with all his Heart forgets those that may have been committed by the *Sieur Duke*. What Hypocritical Jargon is here? As if it was a Sin against God for the Duke of *Lorraine* to have offended the French King. In the mean while *CanteCroix* acted the Sovereign in *Lorraine* under the Protection of the French. She was so Cruel as to get one of the Duke's *Vales de Chambres* to be condemn'd to be Hang'd for having imprudently call'd her the Duke's *femme de Campagne*. When the Duke came to *Lorraine*, the People were over-joy'd at his return, their Acclamations were very extraordinary, God save and bless my Lord the Duke, his Two
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Wives and his Daughter. Neither *Charles* nor *Lewis* intended to keep the Treaty any longer than they thought it for their Interest.

We have not omitted to follow the Fortunes of the wretched Mother of *Lewis the Just*, whom his Minister drove from Country to Country in a most Cruel Banishment. While she was at *London*, she was the first that Negotiated the Affair of the Marriage of the Princess *Mary* her Grand-Daughter to the Prince of *Orange*. She did it in hopes of obliging that Prince to procure for her a Retreat in the *United Provinces*, but the States were afraid of offending *Richlieu*, who had artfully form'd a Party in the House of Commons against *Mary de Medicis*. The Rabble surrounded her House to force her to deliver up the *Popish* Priests whom she harbour'd. The King order'd the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Lieutenant of *Middlesex*, to Guard her; he accordingly sent a 100 Men, who cry'd out they did not know what Business they had to Guard Strangers. *Richlieu's* Friends of the Puritan Party in the House of Commons, made a motion for an Address to the King, in Conjunction with the Lords, to remonstrate that the Presence of his Mother-in-Law gave encouragement to the *Papists*, and to pray his Majesty to desire her to leave the Kingdom. The King of *Spain* refus'd to admit her to come to the *Low Countries* again, for that she left them before in so unhandsome a Manner. The *Dutch* excus'd themselves, and she was glad to get a poor Retreat at *Cologne*; having receiv'd a small Present of the Parliament of *England* for the expence of her removing thither. She now demanded nothing of her Son and *Richlieu* but to receive her Revenues and live upon them in any Country except *Italy*, that was in Alliance with *France*. But *Richlieu* was Inexorable, his Master Inflexible, and *Mary de Medicis* was to live the rest of her Life a sad Example of the Cruelty of un dutiful Children and Tyrannical Ministers.

Having mention'd the Designs forming against the Cardinal at *Sedan*, 'tis fit we shou'd relate the Success.

Success of them. The Minister was willing the Princes should be driven to Extremities, that he might have a pretence to deprive the House of *Bullion* of the Sovereignty of that City, and therefore promoted a Quarrel with the Count de *Soissons*, whom the Duke de *Bullion* joyn'd with, when he might easily have made it up. But as his Genius was rather for contriving vast Projects than for executing them, his Preparations to attack *Sedan* and the Princes there, were in as little forwardness as those for the War with *Spain* before-mention'd. *Lewis* complain'd of it to *Bullion*, Superintendent of the Finances, who, to clear himself, told the King plainly, that the *Marine* and the *Artillery* swallow'd up every thing. The Cardinal had the management of the one, and his Cousin the *Mareschal de Meilleraie* of the other. *Bullion* provok'd at the Reproaches his Master made him for Faults that were not his own, added further, That the Cardinal had begun the War for his own Interest. That the Kingdom was drain'd of Money, and if his Majesty did not give it Peace it would be entirely ruin'd. He dy'd not long after, and the Finances continuing in the same ill Condition, *Lewis* one Day told his Minister what *Bullion* had said to him. The Cardinal reply'd, You tell me of a Man that cannot speak for himself. The King answer'd, I kept the Secret as long as he liv'd, as I gave him my word I would at his earnest entreaty, having remonstrated to me, that nothing cou'd save him from Destruction if you should know he had talk'd so to me. Does not this shew what an Absolute Master *Richieu* was of both King and Kingdom? Was it not in *Lewis's* Power to defend *Bullion* against his Prime Minister? Did he believe his Subjects to be in so miserable a Condition, and would he still pursue the Measures that made them so? The Cardinal, as was his wonted Custom, caus'd the Parliament to proceed against the Count de *Soissons*, the Duke de *Bullion*, and the Duke de *Guise*, who had in vain courted *Gaston*, Duke of *Orleans*, to joyn with them. *Gaston* was so base as

to inform against them, and discover the Proposals that had been made him to that purpose. The Rupture of the Count *de Soissons* with *Richlieu* had like to have been more fatal to him than any other he had met with. The Duke *de Bullion* beat the Army that was sent against him, but the Count being himself kill'd in the beginning of the Combat, the loss of his Person did that Cause more harm than the gaining of the Victory did it good, which the Duke *de Bullion* was so sensible of, that he made his Peace with the Court, but the Duke *de Guise* refusing to do so, was condemn'd to be Beheaded in Effigie. *Cinqmars*, the Favourite, had been invited into the Confederacy of the Princes at *Sedan*; he at first refus'd to hold any Intelligence with them, but the King having told him that *Richlieu* was become so intollerable he wish'd he was deliver'd of him, the Favourite thought the Count *de Soissons's* Enterprize wou'd forward his Design to effect it, and he wish'd well to it, if he was not Assistant in it. *Cinqmars*, who was very Imprudent, reveal'd what the King had said against the Cardinal. *Lewis* being told of it, deny'd it, and declar'd that 'twas all of *Cinqmars's* own making, but notwithstanding *Lewis's* denying it, the Cardinal believ'd it, and grew so jealous of his Master, that he wou'd not enter the *Louvre* without his own Guards, and oblig'd the King to turn off several Officers, because they had refus'd to devote themselves so entirely to him as he wou'd have had them.

The Favourite *Cinqmars* did not give over his Intention to destroy the Cardinal after the Count *de Soissons's* Death. There happen'd at that time an Accident which irritated him more than ever against him. The Favourite us'd to make a third Man when the King and Cardinal held their most Secret Counsels; the latter disgust'd with *Cinqmars*, resolv'd to hinder it for the future, and bad a Friend of his tell him, *He took it very ill that Monsieur de Cinqmars shou'd be always at his Heels when he went to discourse the King about Affairs, so*

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which the Presence of another was not necessary. The Favourite surpriz'd at this Message, went immediately to *des Noyers*, Secretary of State, to demand the Reason of it. The Cardinal, who was upon the watch with him, came presently to the Secretary's, and treated *Cinqmars* as haughtily as if he had been one of his Valets, reproaching him with the Obligations he had lain upon him, and forbidding him ever to come to the King's Council, adding, *Go in and ask him if it is not his Pleasure.* *Cinqmars*, enrag'd at this Treatment, vow'd the Destruction of *Richlieu* as soon as possible, and refus'd the Government of *Touraine*, in which was the Lordship of *Cinqmars*, resolving not to leave the Court unless he was driven from it. At this time *de Thou*, a Relation of the Duke de *Bullion's*, set a Negotiation on Foot between them two, for another Enterprize against the Cardinal no less than to kill him. *Cinqmars* propos'd to the Duke of *Orleans* to joyn with them, but he put off being concern'd in the Business, which he gave them to understand he heartily wish'd was accomplish'd.

Tho' I do not enter into the detail of the Military Affairs of *France*, yet I shall mention the Tragical Story of the brave *St. Preuil*, Governor of *Arras*, who having offended the Cardinal, and his Cousin the *Mareschal de Meilleraie*, by some rash Expressions, was to be another Sacrifice to the Minister's Vengeance. The pretence was his being the Occasion of breaking the Capitulation of *Bapaume*, a Town taken from the *Spaniards* by *Meilleraie*, who had given a Convoy to the Garrison to Conduct them to *Doway*. But the Night coming on, the Commanding Officer thinking the Garrison out of danger, left only a Trumpeter with them, and return'd to the Camp. The Governor of *Arras* having notice that a Party of Men was on the march near that Place, and that they were an Enemy's Party, he sally'd out to observe them, and the two Parties engag'd before the Commanders had time to come to an *Eclaircissement*. The

Spaniards were beaten and plunder'd, *St. Preuil* as soon as he knew his mistake acknowledg'd it to the *Spanish* Commander, who laid the Fault on the Trumpeter, who, it seems, was so frighted that he had not done his Duty. The *French* Officer also promis'd full Satisfaction for the Damage the *Spaniards* had sustain'd. The *Spaniard* and all his Inferior Officers sign'd a Paper, giving a fair Account of the Fact, and all in Favour of *St. Preuil*, who was naturally of a fiery Temper, and had by his Passion made himself Enemies among the Ministers. *Des Noyers* hated him for having kill'd his Cousin *Aubrai*, Commissary of War. This unhappy Event made *St. Preuil's* Friends apprehend it wou'd be taken as a Pretext to ruin him, and some of them advis'd him to stand on his Guard in *Arras*; and if he must perish, to do so like a Man with his Sword in his Hand. God forbid, says he, That I shou'd take Arms against my King. 'Tis said the *Mareschal* de *Milleraie* will Arrest me, I shall go to him and see if he will. *Meikeraie* exclaim'd bitterly against *St. Preuil* for having broken the Capitulation of *Bapaume*. But that was not enough to take him off, the Enemy having clear'd him of any ill Design; therefore *des Noyers* got an Information against him, for having violated a Nun, whereas the truth was, he only search'd a Nunnery at *Dourlens* for Arms, which he found there. The Secretary also charg'd him with hanging a Fellow, that he might have the free Enjoyment of his Wife; but that Fellow was prov'd to have held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*. Nevertheless these Pretences being urg'd against him, and some hot Actions in his Governments of *Dourlens* and *Arras*, the Judges, pack'd for that purpose out of the Presidials of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, condemn'd him to Death. *Bellejambe*, Intendant of *Picardy* and President of the Commission, was forc'd to use Threats to bring them to it, and the Lieutenant General of the Presidial of *Amiens*, refus'd to the last to Condemn him. But *Richlieu* had given the Judges their Instructions, and his Head was Cut off at *Amiens* by the Sentence of those Corrupt Judges.

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He had been in the Service ever since he was Fourteen Years Old, and the Lieutenant General of the Presidial of *Amiens* said boldly at his Tryal, *The least of his Services was enough to atone for the most Enormous Crime that was laid to his Charge.* Every one that mentions this Monsieur de *St. Preuil* speaks of him as a very Gallant Man, as Liberal, Generous, and Brave as any Officer in the Armies of *France*, Qualities that are far from giving a Man Merit in the Opinion of such Ministers as the Cardinal de *Richlieu*, to whose Charge the Blood of this unhappy Gentleman must be also laid.

Having mention'd the Revolt of the *Catalans*, we must add that *Richlieu* taking them into his Protection, perswaded the King his Master to go in Person to *Catalonia*. The Cardinal's Creatures were at the Head of Armies in *Italy* and the *Low Countries*. His Brother-in-Law the Mareschal de *Breze* was declar'd Viceroy of *Catalonia*. The Mareschal de *la Meilleraie* his Cousin, commanded an Army of 20000 Men design'd for the Conquest of *Roussillon*. The Cardinal advis'd the King to take his Wife and Brother along with him, and the Dauphin and Duke of *Anjou* his Sons were to be put into the Hands of *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, and Governor of the Castle of *Vincennes*, who was at *Richlieu's* Devotion, as was to a most shameful Degree the Prince of *Conde*, whom *Lewis* appointed to Command in *Paris*, where the Chancellor, and others the Cardinals Confidants and Tools, were nam'd to be the Council. This Project occasion'd great Murmurings, the Minister, said the People, has made himself Master of the Kings Person, his Queens, his Two Sons and his Brothers, of all his Armies and Fleets, and of the best Places in the Kingdom. What can hinder his Absolute Power if the King shou'd dye in so long and fatiguing a Journey? His first Physician who saw he grew worse in his Health, declar'd it wou'd endanger his Life. The Queen cry'd and said she wou'd rather dye than part with her Children. *Lewis* was mov'd by her Tears, and consented she shou'd stay with them at *St. Germain-en-laye*, and *Richlieu*, who by means of the

Prince of Conde and his other Creatures, wou'd be Master of Paris, and its Neighbourhood did not oppose it. While Preparations were making for this Expedition, which was delay'd on account of the King's frequent Indispositions, *Cinqmars* founded him several times as to his Disposition to *Richlieu*, but tho' he wou'd some times appear very angry with him, and hear any thing said against him, his Mind soon chang'd, and they wou'd presently be as good Friends as ever. *Lewis* wou'd then say to his Favourite, *Remember what I told you, if Monsieur the Cardinal declares himself openly your Enemy, I cannot keep you about me. Depend upon it.* When the King was pretty well and thought himself able to Travel, he was so fond of being himself the Conqueror of *Catalonia*, that he wou'd hear nothing against *Richlieu*, Author of that Project. When he was out of Order, and afraid that he shou'd not be able to go thither in Person, he wou'd privately rail against his Minister to *Cinqmars*. He did it once so warmly, that the Favourite having no room not to think him in earnest, boldly represented to him, *In what Bondage the Cardinal held him, that if Richlieu's Project succeeded, there wou'd not be an Army nor Place at his Disposal in all his Kingdom.* He went so far as to propose to the King to kill him, offering to strike the Blow himself. Whether he agreed to the Proposal or not, I shall not farther examine than to say that *Cinqmars* at his Tryal affirm'd he did consent, and that it is certain he was afterwards in greater Favour with *Lewis* than ever, and the Cardinal in less. *Cinqmars* upon this Encouragement renew'd his Negotiations with the Duke of *Orleans* and *Bullion*. *De Thou* manag'd the Intrigue with the latter, and *Fontrailles* with the former, in behalf of the Favourite, who was always flush'd upon any Marks he receiv'd of his Majesty's good Graces, and conceal'd as much as he cou'd the Mortifications he receiv'd from the King, who, on his part, did not care that the Courtiers shou'd know he had quarrel'd with a Man whom they saw had such an Ascendant over him, and that too when the King undertook his last Expedition,

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the Conquest of *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*, which made the World believe that having heard his Favourite's Proposal to Murder the Cardinal before he began the Journey, he had not that abhorrence for it as was afterwards pretended.

The Duke *de Bullion* wou'd not consent to the Assassination, but he agreed to receive the Duke of *Orleans* and *Cinqmars* into *Sedan*, and to treat with *Spain*. *De Thou* wou'd not agree to either, but he consented to a Confederacy of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bullion*, with *Cinqmars* and others, to hinder the Cardinal's securing the Regency to himself, in case of the King's Death. The Queen was afraid of the Cardinal's using some Violence towards her and her Children, and indeed of his murdering them and *Gaston*, to make way for the Duke *de Enghien* to ascend the Throne, and place his Wife, *Richlieu's* Niece, upon it. Certain it is, the Queen desir'd the Duke of *Bullion* to receive her and her Children into *Sedan*, if the King shou'd do otherwise than well. This is attested by Monsieur *Langlade*, Author of the Memoirs of the Duke *de Bullion*, printed with the Royal License at *Paris* in the Year 1692. He adds, *So much was her Majesty perswaded of the Cardinal's ill Intention and Power, that she did not think any Place in France safe for them.*

The Duke of *Orleans* and *Cinqmars* had a private Conference at *Chilli*, a fine House which the *Mareschal d'Effiat*, *Cinqmars's* Father, built in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*; when the Court pass'd by it to *Fontainebleau* in their way to *Languedoc*. *Cinqmars's* Design was to engage the Duke to come to *Lyons*, where he intended to execute his Enterprize against *Richlieu*; but neither the Duke of *Orleans* nor the Duke of *Bullion* wou'd appear there to Countenance his Bloody Attempt. 'Twas in this Journey that the Cardinal began openly to talk against the Favourite to the King, and to perswade him to remove him from about his Person. He watch'd an Opportunity when his Majesty had a Fit of Superstition upon him, to represent *Cinqmars's* debauch'd Life and Manners to him in the worst

worst Colours; but *Lewis*, as Devout as he was, receiv'd his Remonstrances with great Sullenness, and *Richlieu* retir'd in Extraordinary Confusion. *Gassion* took Notice of it, the Cardinal made him follow the Court in order to serve in *Catalonia*, the King out of Spite commanded him to return to the Army in the *Netherlands*, and seem'd to take Occasions to mortify *Richlieu*. Whether it was that the Favourite had set his Master entirely against the Minister, or that *Lewis* was offended at the Cardinal's Magnificence in Travelling, which was as great as his own, *Richlieu* seem'd now to be in worse Terms with his Majesty than he had ever been during his Ministry. The expence of *Richlieu*'s House amounted to a Thousand Crowns a Day, his Train was so numerous he was forc'd to take another Route, there not being room enough for his and the King's on the same Road. They had, however, Interviews at *Briare*, *Cones* and *Moulins*, where he again made some unsuccessful attempts to ruin *Cinqmars* with his Majesty. At *Briare* the Cardinal happen'd to be alone in the King's Closet, and some of *Cinqmars*'s Accomplices represented to him, that he cou'd never have a better Opportunity to rid himself of his Enemy, but his Heart fail'd him, and he put it off to his arrival at *Lyons*, where the *Noblesse* of *Auvergne* had promis'd him to assemble and support him. There were to be 7 or 800 of them, and had the Duke of *Orleans* came thither the Blow had certainly been given. When *Richlieu* arriv'd at that City, he found his Credit so sunk, that 'twas in vain for him to speak any thing more against the Favourite. *Des Noyers*, his Creature, writing a Letter of Consolation in his Name to *Gassion* for his missing the Batoon on the Promotion of the *Mareschals de Guebriant* and *la Mothe Hodancourt*, has these remarkable Expressions, *Be sure to express your Gratitude to his Eminence for his good Intention towards you. At this time one Complement is worth two. Do not believe Publick Reports, keep firm to the Service, the King is Just. Soon or late he will perceive who are his faithful Servants.* The Cardinal

nal wrote *Gassion* to this effect himself. *The King* has made *Two Mareschals*, 'tis not my Fault that he did not make a *Third*; our Affairs hinder me from asking the continuation of your Affection, but not my keeping you in mind as one of my truest Friends. There is nothing in the World that Ministers endeavour to conceal more than the Declension of their Credit, no Artifices they will not make use of to hide it, no Reports they will not spread to support it, especially ill Ministers who know that they cannot lose their Authority without the loss of their Lives, or at least their Liberty and Wealth, and one may be sure that this Confusion of so cunning a States-man as *Richlieu* proceeded from the depth of his Despair, but as cunning as he was, his Master deceiv'd him this time, shewing him he was more Weak and Inconstant than even himself took him to be. While the Court was at *Lyons*, the *Noblesse of Auvergne* made their Appearance there, as had been concerted. When they were assembled, expecting *Cinqmars's* Orders, he came to them, and told them he was going to the King and would return to them presently; accordingly he went to his Majesty, with whom he had not been long before *Richlieu* enter'd attended by *le Bar*, the Captain of his Guards. The King and *Cinqmars* seem'd to be extreamly surpriz'd, *Cinqmars* whisper'd something to his Master, which the Cardinal took to relate to himself by their being both in such disorder. *Cinqmars* not being able to bear the sight of him, left the King and him, and went to the *Noblesse of Auvergne* whom he bid to return every Man to his Home. 'Tis thought the Favourite in that Whisper demanded permission to execute what he had formerly propos'd to his Master, and that *Lewis*, frighted at the thoughts of such near Danger, cou'd not bring himself to consent to it. Others will have it that *Lewis* knew nothing of the Matter at that time. The *Marquis de Mortemar*, who was let into the Secret of the Assassination Plot, discover'd it to *Richlieu*, who

who was in a mortal Fright as will be shewn hereafter.

As the Court was going to *Languedoc* to be nearer *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*, it stop'd at *Valence*, where the King gave the Cardinal's Cap to *Maximilien*, who had been promoted to the Purple by his Nomination for having sacrific'd the Pope's and King of Spain's Interest, whose Agent he was, to the French.

While the King was on this Journey, *Fontenille* went to the Court of *Madrid* to act for the Duke of *Orleans* and *Cinqmars*. The former gave him a *Carte Blanche* sign'd by himself, to fill up with Articles he shou'd agree upon with the *Spaniards*. *Gaston* empower'd him to Negotiate for an Army of 12000 Foot and 4000 Horse, *German Veterans*, and Money to maintain them. *Fontenilles* concluded a Treaty, by which these Troops were to be lent him, and he was besides to have 200000 Crowns to make new Levies. The Duke de *Bullion* was to have a Pension of 40000 Crowns a Year, and *Cinqmars* as much; *Bullion* was to have besides 100000 Livers to fortify *Sedan*, and 25000 Livers a Month for the Maintainance of the Garrison. *Gaston's* Pension was to be 12000 Crowns a Month. For these and other Considerations the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bullion*, with Monsieur *Cinqmars*, were to declare themselves Enemies to all the Enemies of the House of *Austria*, and this Treaty the Favourite hop'd wou'd support him in his Enterprizes against *Richeieu*, whether *Lewis* consented to them or not. The Queen *Anne* of *Austria* had Intelligence of this Treaty. *De Thou* knew nothing of it till after 'twas made.

In the mean time the Siege of *Perpignan*, the Capital of *Roussillon*, commenc'd, and the Cardinal who was not very well in Health, but much worse in Humour, left the Court under Pretence of taking the Waters in *Tarascon* in *Provence*. He was so afraid of his Master's abandoning him to his Enemies that he departed with great Precipitation, sick as he was, and in very ill Weather. He gave out that he was going

going one Road and he took another. He went part of the way by Sea to disappoint those that might have form'd any Designs against him by Land, and intended to retire into *Italy* if the Power of his Enemies encreas'd. His Money and Jewels were order'd to be sent him from *Paris* on the first Notice. When he left the Camp, he affected to do it with great Pride and Resolution, as if he did not matter the Post he had held, but for the sake of the Kingdom, not for his own. Sir, says he to the King, *I will never speak to Your Majesty of my Services, nor of my Person, I am going to remove a disagreeable Object out of your sight, Your Majesty may exercise all your Royal Power over me, and make me sensible of the terrible Effects of your Wrath, but never shall any thing hinder me from appearing where the Welfare of the State and the Danger of your Sacred Person shall call me.* About this time *Richlieu* made his Will, and divided his vast Estate between his Darling Niece the Dutchesse of *Anguillon*, *Armand de Maille*, his Nephew, Son to the *Mareschal de Breze*, and *Armand de Vignerod* another Nephew of his, Son to the *Baron de Pontcoulard*; *Breze* had the Dutchy of *Fronsac*, and *Cauumont*, a Marquilate, a County and a Barony. 300000 Livres in Money to be laid out in Lordships, and 15000 Livres a Year in *Normandy*. *Vignerod* who was to take the Name and Arms of *du Plessis de Richlieu*, had the Dutchy of *Richlieu*, several other Lands and great Riches in Jewels and Furniture. The Witnesses to his Will were the Cardinal *Mazarine*, *Hardouin Perefixe*, afterwards Preceptor to *Lewis* the XIVth, and Author of the History of *Henry IV*, the Bishop of *Chartres* and two or three more. There was a Passage in his Will which shews the immeasurable Pride and Vanity of this aspiring Priest, and that was a Clause by which the *Hotel* of *Richlieu* was dispos'd of thus, *To be for ever inalienably annex'd to the Crown, never to be given to any Prince, Lord or other Person whatsoever, the Cardinal's Intentions being that it shou'd Lodge his Majesty only when he thought fit, his Successors, Kings of France,*
the

the Heir to the Crown and no other. He did not think any body but the Kings or Dauphins of France worthy to Lodge in his Houle after him. The Duke of Richlieu and his Successors, Dukes of Richlieu, were to be Captains of the *Hotel*, and to have an Apartment in it. He left 1500000 Livres of the King's Money to him, but worded it as if it was a Legacy of his own. He always kept such a Sum by him to serve upon Emergencies; *Louvois* us'd to have Twenty Millions which *Lewis XIV.* knew nothing of for the like uses.

When the Cardinal was gone, *Cinqmars*, *de Thou*, and others, who wanted nothing but Peace, effectually to ruin him, represented to the King the ill State of his Health, and how necessary it was for him, the Queen, his Wife and Children, to put an End to the War. The King order'd *de Thou* to write to that purpose to *Rome* and *Madrid*, and his writing without the Cardinal's Consent was that unfortunate Gentleman's greatest Crime. By what means *Richlieu* discover'd the Treaty *Fontrailles* had concluded at *Madrid* is not known, some affirm the Mareschal *de Breze* intercepted a Letter in *Catalonia*, others that *Maxarime* had Information of it out of *Italy*. Be it as it will, 'twas talk'd of before Monsieur *Cinqmars* was apprehended. The Princess *Mary* of *Mantua* writing him word from *Paris*, *Your Affair is as well known here as that the Seine runs under the Pontneuf*. The Original Treaty was sent to the Duke of *Orleans*, who burnt it and kept the Copy; an Extract of which was taken and deliver'd to *Richlieu* by some Traytor in *Gaston's* Family. The Cardinal sent it immediately to the King by *Chavigni*, and bid him tell his Majesty he shou'd have convincing Proofs of the Truth of it. The Bishop of *Langres*, a Spy of *Richlieu's* on the Monsieur, was suppos'd to be the Traytor. As soon as the Conspiracy began to be talk'd off, the Duke of *Orleans* and *Cinqmars* thought of retreating to *Sedan*, but expecting every Day to hear of *Richlieu's* Death they defer'd it from time to time till 'twas too late. The King hearing of the Defeat of the Mareschal *de Guiche* in *Flanders*,
and

and being tir'd with the length of the Siege of *Perpignan* began to want his Old Minister, and was ready to receive any ill Impression of *Cinqmars*, whose Favour had driven him from Court. His Illness made him uneasy to himself and all about him. The *Mareschal de Schomberg* and *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, continu'd to represent to him the Danger of *Cinqmars's* Conspiracy, and the Necessity of securing his Person; but it was some time before *Lewis* would believe the one or consent to the other. His Confessor Father *Sirmond*, exhorted him to it as a case of Conscience, and to execute it with the more Safety, *Lewis* left the Camp and return'd to *Norbonne*, where on the 13th of June 1642, *Cinqmars* was arrested. *De Thou* was apprehended in *Italy*, where he was conferring with the Duke de *Bullion*, who was also seiz'd in the same manner, tho' he commanded the Army there, and that too with particular Marks of Disgrace. *Chavigni* and *des Noyers* were order'd by *Richlieu* to perswade the King to return to *Paris*, he growing daily worse and worse, and before he return'd to visit his sick Minister at *Tarascon* to let the World see his Power over his Master was still so great that he cou'd make him follow him wherever he pleas'd. Ill as he was, *Lewis* order'd himself to be carry'd to *Tarascon*, and to *Richlieu's* Chamber, where a Bed was made for him to lie and talk with the Cardinal, who was sick in another. The Cardinal upbraided him with hearkening to the Calumnies of a Young Audacious Favourite, and *Lewis* not being able to bear his Reproaches wept plentifully. He promis'd his Minister to do so no more, and to Protect him on all Occasions. *Richlieu* did not know then that *Lewis* had given *Cinqmars* so much Encouragement as he did in his intended Assassination Plot, or he would have been more rough with him. This Reconciliation was however affected, *Lewis* never lov'd *Richlieu* afterwards. *Mazarine* perceiv'd it, and with great Dexterity so manag'd both the King and the Cardinal, that without offending or allarming the latter, he insinuated himself more and more into the good Graces of the former. The

The Duke of Orleans was in a terrible Fright upon the Apprehension of the Duke de Bullion, Monsieur de Cinqmars and Monsieur de Thou. He immediately sent the Abbot de la Riviere to make his Submission and beg Pardon; the Cardinal was as sullen as the King, and both talk'd of no less than banishing him to *Venice* to live there on a small Pension. At last upon his betraying the whole Secret of the *Spanish Confederacy*, giving an ample Confession of it to the Chancellor *Seguier*, who made use of it in Evidence against Monsieur de Cinqmars and Monsieur de Thou, he was permitted to stay in France upon signing this Scandalous Writing: Having made a full Declaration to the King of the Crime Monsieur de Cinqmars has been guilty of, and tempted us to commit, and having recourse to his Majesty's Clemency, we declare that we think our self extremely oblig'd and well dealt with, if it will please his Majesty to let us live in the Kingdom as a private Person, without Government, without a Troop of Gens d'Armes, Light Horse, or Power to take the like Charge or any Administration whatsoever, and upon whatsoever Occasion. We consent further to this Private Life which the King shall be pleas'd to prescribe us without any Train, but what he shall be pleas'd to allow, and without entertaining any Person in our Service that shall be disagreeable to him, under Pain of forfeiting what the King's Goodness has been pleas'd to grant us after we have committed so great a Fault. This was not all, the Royal Evidence that was produc'd against Cinqmars. The King himself declar'd in an Authentick manner, by a Letter to the Parliament of *Paris*, several things against him of his own Knowledge. Lewis in that Paper says he had lately suffer'd him to act and speak more freely than he had done before, on purpose to find out his ill Designs. The great Crime of all is contain'd in the following Paragraph. This Man's Endeavour was to decry the Actions of our Cousin the Cardinal de Richlieu, and extol those of the Count Duke d' Olivarez. He favour'd all that were in Disgrace with us, and oppos'd those that serv'd us, he continually dis-

prov'd

you'd whatever we did that was useful to the State. My Author reflects upon this Occasion. What Venom, what Malice! He afterwards informs against him for Profane speaking. He spoke, says the King, of the most Holy things with so great Impiety, that 'twas easy to see God was not in his Heart. This Royal Information was mightily insisted on at the Trial of the Criminals, tho' there was no need of so much Form to take them off, when the Chancellor *Seguier* and *Laubardemont*, a Creature of the Cardinals, were to be their Judges. The Prisoners were convey'd from their several Prisons to *Lyons*, whither *Richlieu* came in Person to be Present at the Process. He was very ill, yet his Revengeful Temper won'd not let him stay at *Terascon*, he would needs go to *Lyons* for fear the Judges shou'd not be severe enough in his Absence, and the manner of his travelling was so very extraordinary, 'tis worth relating it. He had a sort of Portative Chamber made cover'd with Damask, with some Cire Cloth over it. There was a Bed within it, and he cou'd talk as he lay with any Person who sat in a Chair by the side of it. Eighteen of his Guards reliev'd from time to time by others carry'd this Machine bare headed in rainy as well as dry Weather, When 'twas too big or too high for the Gates of some Towns thro' which 'twas to pass, the Walls were pull'd down to make way for it, as were also the Walls of the Houses where he lodg'd. The Roads were widen'd where too strait, and levell'd where too uneven; Two Hundred Leagues was he carry'd after this manner, from *Terascon* to *Lyons*, and from thence to *Paris*. Both he and the King were mightily troubled with the *Hemorrhoids*; *Lewis* was as ill as the Cardinal, but his manner of travelling was far from being so Pompous and Expensive. He only borrow'd *Richlieu's* common Litter from *Terascon* to *Lyons*, and thence he went by Coach to *Paris*.

I shall not enter into the Detail of the proceedings against *Cinqmars* and *de Thou*. The Chancellor came to *Lyons*, he visited the former and said, *Instead of being afraid, Sir, You have reason to hope for every*
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thing

thing that's to your Advantage. You have a good
 Judge in me, and God forbid I should not be grateful
 for past Favours. I am not Ignorant that if it had
 not been for you, the King wou'd have taken away the
 Seals from me; so great an Obligation requires not
 only an Immortal Remembrance, but an Infinite Gra-
 titude which I shall shew you upon Occasion. What he
 said was true enough, as to *Cinqmar's* being Instru-
 mental towards his Keeping the Seals, but the Gra-
 titude he was to shew, ended in the Condemning
 this fine Young Gentleman to the Rack; tho' in-
 deed he afterwards got it off upon his Confession of
 the Crime he was charg'd with, for which he was con-
 demn'd to dye, as was also *Monf. de Thou*, for Mis-
 prison of Treason. The latter behav'd himself with so
 much Christian Heroism, that his Enemies wept when
 the Sentence pass'd upon him. Both his and *Cinq-
 mars's* Behaviour at the Place of Execution was very
 edifying; and some who gave the worse Turn to
 the latter's Carriage, as if 'twas to give the Lye to
 the Cardinal's Report of him after the Siege of
Arras, that he was a Coward, cou'd not help owning
 that greater Courage, and at the same time greater
 Modesty were never seen in a Man of his Years, *Cinq-
 mars* being not Two and Twenty when he dy'd.
 He was an Ambitious Gallant Young Gentleman,
 belov'd by the King, but not loving him; his Man-
 ners were shocking to his Joyous Temper, and when
 his Friends us'd to Reprove him for his carrying
 himself so disagreeably towards his Majesty, he
 reply'd, *I can't bear his stinking Breath*. This Prince
 had something very lothsome in his Person, but those
 who wou'd keep the Favour of Princes shou'd have
 neither Noses or Eyes to any thing that is offensive in
 them. As to the Duke *de Bouillon*, as soon as he
 heard of the Condemnation of his Two Friends, he
 sent immediately to desire the Chancellor *Seguier*
 to come to him, and offer'd to give up *Sedan* to the
 King to prevent the same Fate to himself. His Wife
 had threaten'd to deliver up that Place to the *Spani-
 ards*. *Richlieu* was not so much alarm'd at that,
 knowing how incapable the *Spaniards* were at that
 time

time to maintain it, as he was pleas'd with the Duke's Voluntary Offer to part with it upon whatever Terms he wou'd. *Mazarine* was the Person *Richlieu* entrusted with the management of this Affair: he was shut up with *Bouillon* several Hours in Prison, and they agreed upon writing a Letter to the Cardinal to offer the Place on Promise of Pardon, and an Equivalent in Lands in *France*, which Condition being comply'd with, *Mazarine* was sent to take Possession of *Sedan*, to whom the Dutches of *Bouillon* yielded it, with as much Pleasure as if she had had the Sovereignty given her, it being the Price of the Life of a Husband whom she dearly lov'd.

The Cardinal *de Richlieu* did not stay at *Lyons* to see the Execution of the Two unfortunate Gentlemen whose Blood he so greedily thirsted after. He was carry'd to *Paris* with the same Pomp as he was brought to *Lyons*, and hearing, on the Road, of the taking of *Perpignan*, and the Death of *Cinqmars* and *de Thou*, he wrote the King a Letter which began with this Insult of Triumph, *Your Troops are in Perpignan and your Enemies are Dead*; whereas in Truth, 'twas his own Enemies, not the King's, and he had enough of them still living to make him lead an uneasy Life himself, on account of his Fear as well as *Hemorrhoids*. Upon his Return to *Paris* he apply'd himself to make as many Friends as he cou'd, especially among the *Soldiery*, and was so far from concealing this Application of his, that he corrupted the King's own Officers, bribing them to quit his Majesty's Service for his own, of which *Lewis* complain'd to *Monseigneur Pontis*, reckoning up with his Fingers how many Officers had left his Service for *Richlieu's*, yet durst not he resent it, but tho' he grew daily more out of Humour with him, he daily courted and caress'd him. *Richlieu* cou'd easily perceive his Master's Favour towards him was in reality worn out, and that what of it remain'd was only out side. He therefore had recourse to his old Artifice, and gave out that he wou'd retire from Business, however he did a thing which a Parity in *England*, no great Enemies to his Politicks,

have lately very much cry'd out against; he put the States of *Holland* and the Prince of *Orange* upon making earnest Instances to the *French Ambassador* at the *Hague*, to represent to this Court that if the Administration of Affairs was taken out of his Hands, they wou'd immediately clap up a Peace. Upon a Report of the Emperor's concerning himself in a Foreign Ministry after the same manner, what Clamour was there made against the Insolence and Novelty of such officiousness, notwithstanding that the Emperor's intermeddling seem'd to be more warranted by his Degree than that of an Infant State? The Remonstrances of the *Dutch* frighten'd the timorous Monarch, and he resolv'd, at any rate, to keep his Minister, for which *Richlieu* wrote *Frederick Henry*, Prince of *Orange*, a Letter of Thanks a few Weeks before his Death. Indeed that Prince did him a singular Service, for there's great likelihood he wou'd have been disgrac'd for his Arrogance had not *Frederick Henry* interpos'd. The Matter was this, under Pretence of the King's being too far from his Council at *St. Germain-en-lai*, he importun'd him to reside at the *Louvre*; the true reason was, he was afraid that some surviving Friends of *Cinqmars* wou'd revenge his Death, and therefore demanded that his own Guards shou'd enter the *Louvre* with him and mix with the King's; least another *Luines* shou'd arise and advise the King to have him serv'd as the *Mareschal de Ancre* was. He went so far as to send his Creature *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, with a Memorial to the King, requiring that *Trois Villes*, Lieutenant of the *Musketeers*, *De la Sale*, *Tilladet* and *d'Essards*, Captains of the Guards, shou'd be discharg'd, or the Cardinal, not thinking himself safe as long as they were at Court, wou'd be oblig'd to quit the Administration. *Lewis* had not been so shamefully bully'd as that was in all his Life, and highly resenting the Indignity offer'd him by an Insolent Priest his Servant, he bid *Chavigni* be gone, and tell him that sent him he always has Persons about him whom he has more reason to suspect than the Cardinal had Grounds to be suspicious of.

of the Lieutenant of his Musketeers and the Three Captains that were nam'd to him. I mean you, Chavigni, added he, and your good Friend Des Noyers, to *Trois Villes* and the other Three must be remov'd, I'll presently drive both of you from Court. *Maximilien* happening to be by, wheedled him into a good Temper again, or rather frighten'd him, by telling him what wou'd be the ill Consequences of his Minister's Retreat, which wou'd oblige the Dutch to put an immediate end to the War. Thus were the Three Officers of the Guards and the Lieutenant of the Musketeers dismiss'd, purely to please *Richlieu*, who wou'd feign have had the disposal of their Places, but *Lewis* wou'd never consent to it. On the contrary he bid *Chavigni* get out of *St. Germain* for pressing him too much on that Article, and gave the Officers he had dismiss'd Assurances that they were not the worse in his Favour, and that their Pay shou'd be continu'd to them. *Richlieu's* greatest Spite was against *Trois Villes*, because the King lov'd him most, and he oppos'd the Cardinal's making the King's Guards draw up on both sides the Court for *Richlieu* to march thro', and his bringing them up to the very Door of the King's Cabinet. *Trois Villes* was so offended at his Insolence, that he ask'd leave of the King to charge the Cardinal's Guards, which *Richlieu* never forgave him, and therefore his Punishment was the more extraordinary. Besides being banish'd the Court, his Troop was broken, and as if the King was also to be punish'd with his Officer, he was depriv'd of those Guards he took particular Delight in.

I am now come now to the Catastrophe of this Reign and Ministry. The Death of *Richlieu*, and the King's, who surviv'd him Six Months only. 'Twas not many Days after the removal of the Four Officers, that it was visible the Cardinal's End approach'd, tho' he endeavour'd to hide it as much as he cou'd. His Hemorrhoids being ill cur'd, the Humour fell first upon his Arm, and afterwards upon his Breast, where, turning to an Imposthume it kill'd him. The King hearing of the Danger he was in, order'd

publick Prayers for him in all the Churches of Paris. However 'twas after many pressing Sollicitations that he gave him a Visir; when he came to his Bedside, Sir, says Richlieu, *This is my last Adieu. In taking leave of Your Majesty, I have the Consolation to leave Your Kingdom more Powerful, and Your Enemies more weak than ever. The only Recompence of all my Trouble which I dare demand of Your Majesty, is the continuation of Your Favour and Protection to my Nephew and Relations; I shall not give them my Blessing but on condition that they serve Your Majesty with an inviolable Fidelity. Your Majesty has several in your Council able to serve you well, I advise you to keep them there. He recommended Maxime as the most proper Person to supply his Place, and nam'd des Noiers particularly for a good Minister. The King affected to be mightily afflicted for him, but as soon as he got out of the Chamber into the Gallery, he cou'd not help Laughing. He came and lay at the Louvre on purpose to be nearer the dying Cardinal, who with great Courage ask'd his Physicians how long they thought he might live. They, to flatter him, said, My Lord, there's yet nothing desperate; your Eminence's Life is so necessary to the State, that God would work a Miracle to save you. We must wait till the Seventh Day, we can pass no Judgment before that time, according to the Rules of our Art. Then calling one of the King's Physicians to him, the Cardinal said, I conjure you, not as a Physician, but as a Friend, tell me plainly how it is with me. The Doctor reply'd, I believe, my Lord, within Four and Twenty Hours you will be Well or Dead. That's something now, says he, I understand you. He then call'd for his Confessor Lescot, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, and play'd the last Scene of the Play, he being a Comedian from first to last. The Curate of St. Eustache bringing him the Viaticum, as soon as he saw the Host, he cry'd, There's my fudge, I pray him to Condemn me if I ever had any other Design than to Secure Religion and the State. Had he no other Design in putting so many Persons*

of Quality to Death, meerly out of Revenge or Jealousy, in banishing the King's Mother and so many other Illustrious Persons, than to *Serve Religion and the State*? and yet on this Integrity of his, does he build all his hopes of Salvation. Surely such Tyrannical Ministers as this Priest was, believe they can deceive God as well as Man, but as sure as there is a God, so sure will they be condemn'd by him; and *Richlieu* had no need of that Prayer, but to impose on the World. When the Curate came to give the *Extream Unction*, *Father*, says he *I beg you to Speak to me as a great Sinner, to deal with me as with the most miserable Creature in the World*. Having said the Lord's Prayer and kiss'd a Crucifix he held in his Hand, the Curate ask'd him if he believ'd all the Articles of Faith. The Cardinal reply'd, *Yes, all of them without any Restriction, if I had a Thousand Lives I wou'd Sacrifice all of them for the Faith, and for the Church*. The Curate ask'd him if he pardon'd his Enemies, and all that had offended him. This was a hard Question, 'twas but a few Days ago that he wou'd not rest till Four Gentlemen were turn'd out of their Places to please him, yet *Richlieu* reply'd without any Hesitation, *With all my Heart, and I pray God to Pardon them*; forgetting that a few Hours before he had advis'd the King to have a Declaration register'd in Parliament against his only Brother the Duke of *Orlean*, to exclude him from all his Lawful Pretensions to the Regency after the Death of *Lewis*, which unnatural Act was accordingly done with great Rigor and Indignity to *Gaston*. The Curate demanded of *Richlieu* whether in case God shou'd prolong his Life, he wou'd serve him more faithfully than ever. *Let me dye a Thousand Deaths*, reply'd the Cardinal, *if he foresees that I shou'd ever commit one mortal Sin only*. Wou'd one not think this good Man a perfect Saint, if one had not seen by the History of his Ministry, that there is hardly a mortal Sin which he did not commit daily? He then took leave of his Dear Niece the Dutches of *Anguillon*, and

Expir'd the 4th of December 1642, in the 38th Year of his Age. As soon as Word was brought to the King that he was Dead, all he said was, Then there's a great *Politician* gone, which is his Character in a word, and shall serve instead of the Volumes of Panegyricks, which the Writers, his *Hirelings*, wrote upon him. Immediately upon the Death of *Richlieu*, the King call'd the Cardinal *Mazarine* to Council, but being a Foreigner he could not obtain the same Precedence as the Cardinal *de Richlieu* had. The Princes of the Blood refus'd to give Place to him, the Matter being left to the King, he determin'd it in their Favour. Great were the Brigues upon *Richlieu's* Death for the Regency and Ministry. The King's Life was dispair'd of, some of the Lords were for the Duke of *Orleans*, others for *Anne of Austria*. *Des Noiers* was in hopes of Succeeding *Richlieu* by means of the Queen, whose Interest he had always espous'd. *Mazarine* and *Chavigni* had been Friends a long while, and they enter'd into the strictest Engagement for the support of their joynt Interest with Respect to the Administration, which they hop'd to preserve, whether the Queen or the Duke had the Regency. They courted both of them, and endeavour'd to make their Creatures their Friends. The Bishop of *Beauvais* was one of the Queen's Principal Favourites, and him they did their utmost to engage on the same bottom with them, but that Bishop hoping to be Prime Minister himself, avoided any such Engagement, giving them as good Words as they gave him.

Not long after *Richlieu's* Death, *Mazarine*, to Ingratiate himself with *Gaston*, procur'd his Return to Court, notwithstanding the Declaration that had been Register'd against him, full of Calumnies and Misrepresentations. As soon as he enter'd the King's Closet, he fell upon his Knees, and humbly ask'd Pardon for all his past Faults, promising more Obedience and Fidelity for the future. The King embrac'd him, saying, 'Tis time that your Actions shou'd answer your Words. If you continue

in this Resolution, you will receive of me all the Marks of my Kindness, that you cou'd expect of a good Brother; you will find that your greatest Advantage is to render your self worthy of my Friendship. Two Months after this the beforemention'd Declaration was repeal'd, and the Dutches of Orleans had leave to come to France, which she wou'd not do till she heard of the King's Death. The Reconciliation of Lewis and his Brother, which was follow'd by the return of several banish'd and fugitive Lords, and by the Enlargement of the Marshals de Bassompierre and de Virri, and the Count de Carmin, out of the Bastille. What Lewis wou'd have done for his Mother after her Persecutor was Dead, had she surviv'd him, one may imagine by what he did for her Creatures, but Mary de Medicis was Dead some time before; She dy'd in great Poverty at Cologne, and Lewis hearing of it, seem'd too late to be sorry for his using her so ill. Baradas and the Duke de St. Simon, Two old Favourites, were permitted to return to Court, as was also the Duke de Beaufort, a Favourite of Anne of Austria, and the Duke de Vendome his Father. The Face of Affairs seem'd to be entirely chang'd, yet Mazarine and Chavigni pursu'd Richlieu's Maxims, to enlarge, as much as they cou'd the Authority Royal, and suppress the Rights and Privileges of the People.

The Lives of Princes are of such Importance to certain Ministers, that they wou'd have them believ'd to be Immortal, and wou'd fain believe them so themselves, notwithstanding the decays they see daily in their Health, and the ghastly Approaches they make towards the Grave. Chavigni wrote to the Marshal de Guebriant in Germany a few Days before the King dy'd, That he was better than ever, that the recovery of his Health was visible to every Body, and that he hop'd he wou'd be on the Frontiers next Month. In the mean while the King knew he had not long to live, and talk'd of settling the Regency. Mazarine and Chavigni were for a Corregency, that the Queen and the Duke of Orleans

Orleans shou'd be appointed Joynt *Regents*, and they put Father *Sirmond*, the King's Confessor, upon advising him to it, which his Majesty took so ill, that he immediately dismiss'd him. *Des Noiers* was for the single Regency of *Anne of Austria*, which, tho' it was most to *Lewis's* Gout, yet he wou'd not seem to fall in with it at his Sollicitation, and wou'd often take Pleasure in thwarting him. *Des Noiers* thought to establish himself by the means his old Master *Richlieu* did, and knowing he wou'd be wanted, being the best acquainted with Foreign Affairs, he now and then wou'd beg leave to retire, which made *Lewis* say one Day, *This Man kills the little Cardinal, he imagines himself to be so necessary that we cannot do without him; I will find out a Hundred more able Men than he is.* This *des Noyers* was so great an Enemy to the Protestants, that he often prejudic'd the Affairs of the French in Germany, that the Protestant Princes might not get by it; he once told the *Mareschal de Chatillon*, *When I Sign any thing in Favour of the Hugonots, methinks my Hand withers.* But in the main he had no Religion, but that of pleasing *Richlieu*, which made *Lewis* say of him, *If Monsieur the Cardinal wou'd turn Turk, des Noyers wou'd put on a Turbant.* Having met with some Check in an Affair he was managing for a Friend of his, *des Noyers* not only ask'd leave to retire but desir'd *Mazarine* to interceed for him that he might have it. The Cardinal took him at his Word, so did the King, and he was permitted to retire to his Country Seat, where he in vain expected to be recall'd and impatiently waited for it. The Cardinal presently fell in with the Interest of *Anne of Austria*, and by his Recommendation *le Tellier* was made Secetary of State and *des Noyers* no more talk'd of. This change help'd to fix *Mazarine*, whose Favour grew daily upon *Chavigni*, and the latter found that the Cardinal must rather be his Protector than his Friend.

Lewis finding his End approaching, made a Declaration, by which he appointed his Queen Regent

gent of his Kingdom, the Duke of Orleans to be Lieutenant General to the Minor King, and the Prince of Conde, Cardinal *Mazarine*, *Segnior*, Chancellor of France, *Bouthillier* Superintendant of the Finances, and *Chavigni* were appointed as a Sovereign Counsel. This Declaration was Sworn to be observ'd by the Queen and the Duke of Orleans, and verifi'd in Parliament. But when Monarchs are in their Graves, their Wills are of no more Force than those of their Subjects. The King's Sickness increasing, Cardinal *Mazarine* and his new Confessor, the Jesuit *Dinet*, advis'd him to prepare for another World. He heard them with great Constancy, confess'd himself and demanded the *Viaticum*. He was reduc'd to nothing but Skin and Bones, and wou'd often shew his naked shrivel'd Arm, saying, *See the Arm of the King of France*. He was so ill serv'd during his last Sickness, that he cou'd never get any Broth that was hot. He seem'd to be abandon'd before he was Dead. The Court was all made to the Queen and the Duke of Orleans. A Sick King, like a Sick Lion, loses all his Terror; and when People by their languishing Looks, and faint Speech, see that a Prince is indeed Mortal, they apply to those that are like to live longest. When the *Viaticum* was given him, the *Mareschals de la Force* and *de la Chastillon* withdrew, being Protestants, and came in again as soon as the Ceremony was over. *Lewis* addressing himself to *le Force*, said, *Monsieur le Maresthal*, I have always esteem'd you as one of the most excellent Officers of my Kingdom. Since I am going to render an Account of my Actions to God, I think it my Duty to exhort you to a sincere Conversion; God has not given you so long a Life, but to give you the Opportunity of knowing that the Catholick is the only true Religion, and that there is no Salvation out of the Apostolical and Roman Church. The Zeal of this King continu'd to his last Agonies, and was doubtless as sincere as it was Arbitrary and Tyrannical with respect to the Protestants, who were persecuted by the Romish Clergy.

in many Parts of the Kingdom, notwithstanding the many Inviolable Acts the Crown had given them in their Favour; and had not *Richlieu's* Thoughts been entirely taken up with the War between the two Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, and with prosecuting his Revenge against those that oppos'd his Ministry, the utter Ruin of the *Reform'd* of *France* had not been one of the Glories of the Reign of *Louis* the XIVth. The Exercise of their Religion was taken from them by Violence in several Towns and Cities, Protestant Children were forc'd from their Fathers and Mothers, and given to be bred up by Popish Relations. Their Hospitals for curing the Sick and Wounded were shut up; their Schools and Seminaries forbidden, and those of them that thro' Indiscretion or Inadvertency happen'd to say the least Word against the Idolatry and Corruption of the Church of *Rome* were severely punish'd, while the Papists were every where countenanc'd and encourag'd in insulting and vilifying the Protestants. I must confess they also had their Weakness, and for fear they shou'd not be thought as Loyal as the Papists, outdid them in flattering the King, and exalting his Power. The *Reform'd* had had a General Assembly in 1637, which breaking up, sent as usual a Deputation to Court, one of the Deputies was the Minister *Ferrand*, who made a most fulsome Harangue to the King at his Audience, calling him the *First next to God*, and the *second after him*, assuring him That *whatever he said of Royal Power was the Doctrine of all Protestants*. Upon which my Author has these Judicious Reflections. " Thus the *Reform'd* became
 " guilty of that Weakness which is common to all
 " in fear. They exalted beyond Measure by flat-
 " tering Aggravations that Power which as they
 " began already to be deeply sensible was abus'd
 " to their Mischief, not considering that when
 " they prescrib'd no Bounds to the Power which
 " oppress'd them, they legitimated, as I may say,
 " the Conduct of their Oppressors, and depriv'd
 " themselves of the Privilege of Complaining. "

Indeed

Indeed *Passive Obedience* was a word that one might expect to have sprung from a *French* Soil, and the *Hugonot* Clergy, like others, have not stuck at giving up the Liberties of the People for their own particular Interests.

I come now to the close of this Reign, which ended the 14th of *May* 1643 with the Life of *Lewis* the XIIIth, otherwise call'd the *Just*, tho' considering that all Princes are accountable for the Oppression and Injustice of their Ministers, and that there never was a greater Oppressor than *Richlieu*, he no more deserv'd the Sirname of *Just*, than a Prince can be said to be call'd *Great*, who never saw an Enemy.

I have omitted several Important Passages of the History of *Lewis* and his Minister, for that they are to be met with in the common Memoirs and Histories of *France*. Whereas the Events that are related in this are such as the *French* Writers durst not touch upon, or but very lightly, and most of the Memoirs from whence they were taken were Printed Abroad.

The next Period is another Minority under the Regency of *Anne* of *Austria*, Mother to the present *French* King, *Lewis* the XIV, to whose Reign I am now come, and to the Confusions with which it began, greater than those under the Regency of *Marie de Medicis*. By these two Regencies we may see what is likely to be the Effects of Minorities in a Kingdom where there are so many Princes impatient all of Subjection and Kindred all to the Throne.

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